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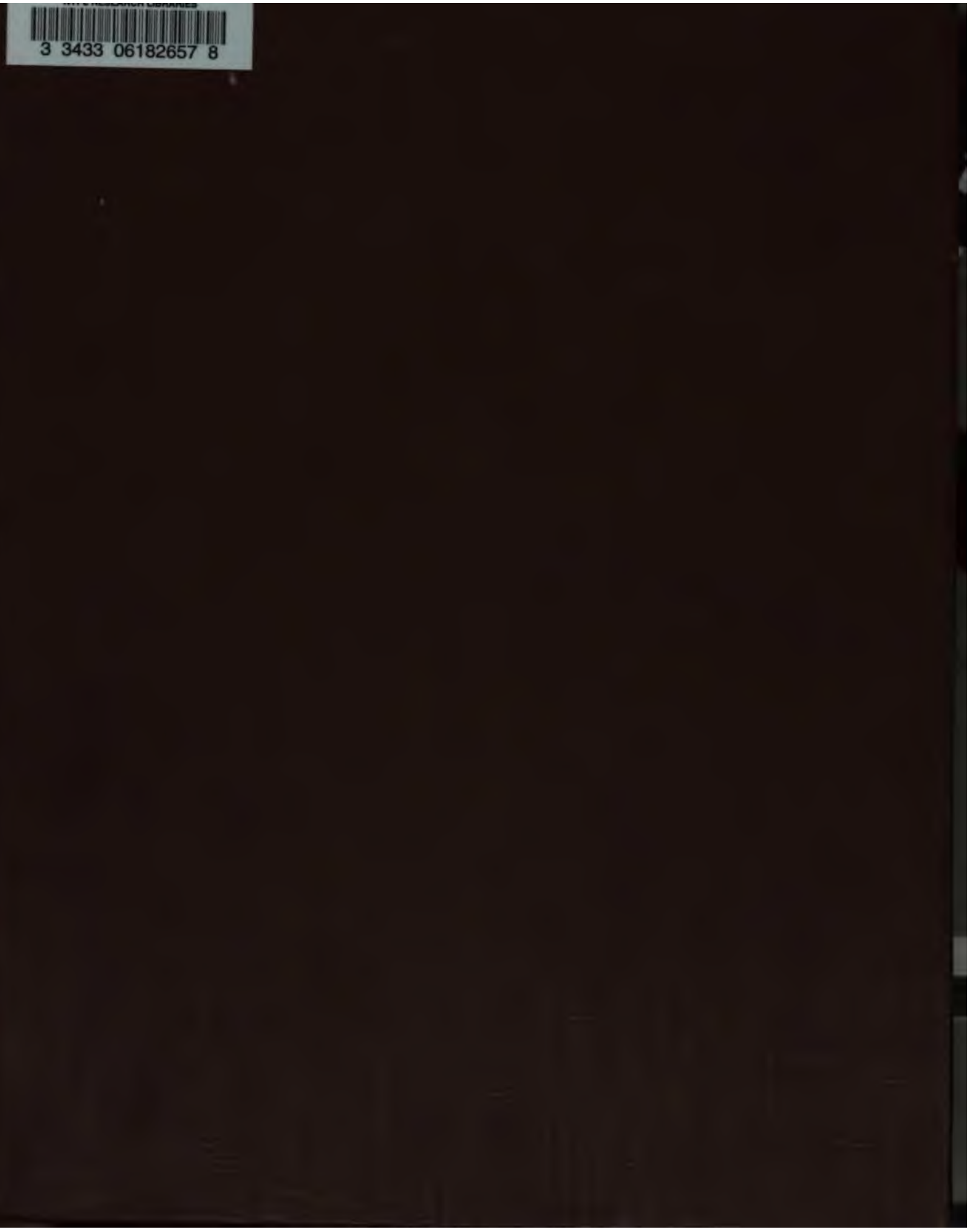
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IV.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for W. CREECH, Edinburgh; and for
W. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, London.

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PREFACE.

THE following work is the ſubſtance of various ſpeculations, that occaſionally amuſed the author, and enlivened his leiſure-hours. It is not intended for the learned; they are above it: nor for the vulgar; they are below it. It is intended for men, who, equally removed from the corruption of opulence, and from the depreſſion of bodily labour, are bent on uſeful knowledge; who, even in the delirium of youth, feel the dawn of patriotiſm, and who in riper years enjoy its meridian warmth. To ſuch men this work is dedicated; and that they may profit by it, is the author's ardent wiſh, and probably will be while any ſpirit remains in him to form a wiſh.

May not he hope, that this work, child of his gray hairs, will ſurvive, and bear teſtimony for him to good men, that even a laborious calling, which left him not many leiſure-hours, never baniſhed from his mind, that he would little deſerve to be of the human ſpecies, were he indifferent about his fellow-creatures:

Homo ſum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.

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Moſt of the ſubjects handled in the following ſheets, admit but of probable reaſoning; which is not a little ſlippery, as with reſpect to many reaſonings of that kind, it is difficult to pronounce, what degree of conviction they ought to produce. It is eaſy to form plauſible arguments; but to form ſuch as will ſtand the teſt of time, is not always eaſy. I could amuſe the reader with numerous examples of conjectural arguments, which, fair at a diſtant view, vaniſh like a cloud on a near approach. In the firſt ſketch of this book, not to go farther, he will find recorded more than one example. The dread of being miſled by ſuch arguments, filled the author with anxiety; and after his utmoſt attention, he can but faintly hope, that he has not often wandered far from truth.

Above thirty years ago, he began to collect materials for a natural hiſtory of man; and in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold, even for a ſingle hand. He has diſcovered of late, that his utmoſt abilities are ſcarce ſufficient for executing a few imperfect ſketches.

Edinburgh, Feb. 23. 1774.

To the Reader.

As one great object of the Editor is to make this a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the female ſex, ſubjoined an Engliſh tranſlation of all the quotations from other languages.

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contribute my mite; and in order to admit all the light poſſible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many animals contribute to our well-being, by labouring for us, or by affording us food and raiment, and as many are noxious; our terreſtrial habitation would be little comfortable, had we no means but experience for diſtinguiſhing the one ſort from the other. Were each individual animal a ſpecies by itſelf, (indulging the expreſſion), differing from every other individual, a man would finiſh his days without acquiring ſo much knowledge of animals as is neceſſary even for ſelf-preſervation: experience would give him no aid with reſpect to any individual of which he has no experience. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect Animals are formed of different kinds, each kind having a figure and a temper peculiar to itſelf. Great uniformity is diſcovered among animals of the ſame kind; no leſs variety among animals of different kinds: and to prevent confuſion, kinds are diſtinguiſhed externally by figure, air, manner, ſo clearly as not to eſcape even a child *. To complete this curious ſyſtem, we have an innate ſenſe, that each kind is endued with properties peculiar to itſelf; and that theſe properties belong to every individual of the kind (*a*). Our road to the knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully abridged: the experience we have of the diſpoſition and properties of any animal, is applied without heſitation to every one of the kind. By that ſenſe, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that reſemble it: an European, upon the

* "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beaſt of the field and "every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to ſee what he would cal "them. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and t "every beaſt of the field." *Gen.* ii. 19.

(*a*) See Elements of Criticiſm, edit. 4. vol. 2. p. 490.

firſt ſight of a cow in Africa, ſtrokes it as gentle and innocent; and an African avoids a tiger in Hindoſtan as at home.

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horſe is not an aſs, or that a monkey is not a man (*a*). Some animals indeed are ſo ſimilar, as to render it uncertain whether they be not radically of the ſame ſpecies. But in every ſuch inſtance there is little need to be ſolicitous; for I venture to affirm, that both will be found gentle or fierce, wholeſome food or unwholeſome. Such queſtions may be curious, but they are of no uſe.

The diviſion of brute animals into different kinds, is not more uſeful to man than to the animals themſelves. A beaſt of prey would be ill fitted for its ſtation, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, and what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Preſent a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret that never had ſeen a rabbit; it throws itſelf upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the ſame inſtinct with reſpect to a hare, and moſt dogs have it. Unleſs directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the firſt dog it ever ſaw; and a chicken, upon the firſt ſight of a kite, cowers under its dam. Social animals, without ſcruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others *. Birds are not afraid of quadrupeds; not even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid of a man naturally; and upon that account are far from being ſhy when left un-

* The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amuſement. They lay the eggs of a hen in a ſtork's neſt. Upon ſeeing the chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring ſtorks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, deſtroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his misfortune in heavy lamentation.

(*a*) See M. Buffon's natural hiſtory.

moleſted. In the uninhabited iſland of Viſia Grandé, one of the Philippines, Kempfer ſays, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in ſome of the South-ſea iſlands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland Iſlands, geeſe, far from being ſhy, may be knocked down with a ſtick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the ſea in the iſland of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes ſhow no fear of man; the inhabitants of hot countries having no notion of hunting. In the uninhabited iſland Bering, adjacent to Kamſkatka, the foxes are ſo little ſhy that they ſcarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this obſervation ſuggeſt a final cauſe? A patridge, a plover, a pheaſant, would be loſt to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The diviſion of animals into different kinds, ſerves another purpoſe, not leſs important than thoſe mentioned; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn from experience, that no animal nor vegetable is fitted for every climate; and from experience we alſo learn, that there is no animal nor vegetable but what is fitted for ſome climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold country are found upon mountains where plants of a hot country will not grow; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable preciſion from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain; no farmer is ignorant that foreign ſeed is requiſite to preſerve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities of foreign ſeed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning ſands of Arabia; and Lapland would be uninhabitable but for rain-deer, an animal ſo entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot ſubſiſt even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horſes degenerate in Britain; and to preſerve the breed in ſome degree of perfection, frequent ſupplies from their original climate are requiſite. Spaniſh

horſes

horſes degenerate in Mexico, but improve in Chili; having more vigour and ſwiftneſs there than even the Andaluſian race whoſe offspring they are. Our dunghill-fowl, imported originally from a warm country in Aſia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unleſs in a houſe warmed with fire. The deſerts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly termed the native country of lions: there they grow to nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the ſouth of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, grow but to five feet and a half long and to three and a half high. A breed of lions tranſplanted from the latter to the former, would riſe to the full ſize; and ſink to the ſmaller ſize, if tranſplanted from the former to the latter.

To preſerve the different ſpecies of animals entire, as far as neceſſary, Providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different ſpecies copulate together. Some may be brought to copulate, but without effect; and ſome produce a mongrel, a mule for example, which ſeldom procreates, if at all. In ſome few inſtances, where a mixture of ſpecies is harmleſs, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different ſpecies of the dog kind copulate together, and the mongrels produced generate others without end. But dogs are by their nature companions to men; and Providence probably has permitted a mixture, in order that every man may have a dog to his liking.

M. Buffon in his natural hiſtory borrows from Ray (*a*) a very artificial rule for aſcertaining the different ſpecies of animals: "Any two animals that can procreate together, and whoſe iſſue "can alſo procreate, are of the ſame ſpecies (*b*)." A horſe and an

(*a*) Wiſdom of God in the works of creation.

(*b*) Octavo edit. vol. 8. p. 104. and in many other parts.

aſs

aſs can procreate together; but they are not, ſays he, of the ſame ſpecies, becauſe their iſſue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to the human race; holding all men to be of one race or ſpecies, becauſe a man and a woman, however different in ſize, in ſhape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the ſame rule he holds all dogs to be of one ſpecies. With reſpect to other animals, the rule ſhould paſs without oppoſition from me; but as it alſo reſpects man, the ſubject of the preſent inquiry, I propoſe to examine it with attention. Providence, it is true, hath prevented confuſion; for in moſt inſtances it hath with-held from animals of different ſpecies a power of procreating together: but as our author has not attempted to prove that ſuch reſtraint is univerſal without a ſingle exception, his rule is evidently a *petitio principii*. Why may not two animals different in ſpecies produce a mixed breed? Buffon muſt ſay, that by a law of nature animals of different ſpecies never produce a mixed breed. But has he proved this to be a law of nature? On the contrary, he more than once mentions ſeveral exceptions. He admits the ſheep and the goat to be of different ſpecies; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever (*a*). The camel and the dromedary, tho' nearly related, are however no leſs diſtinct than the horſe and the aſs. The dromedary is leſs than the camel, more ſlender, and remarkably more ſwift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two: the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely ſpred. One would not deſire diſtinguiſhing marks more ſatisfying; and yet theſe two ſpecies propagate together no leſs freely than the different races of men and of dogs. Buffon indeed, with reſpect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to ſave his credit,

(*a*) Vol. 10. p. 138.

by

by a diſtinction without a difference. "They are," ſays he, "one "ſpecies; but their races are different, and have been ſo paſt all "memory (*a*)." Does this ſay more than that the camel and the dromedary are different ſpecies of the ſame genus? which alſo holds true of the different ſpecies of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dromedary as two diſtinct races, I deſire no other conceſſion. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, viſibly diſtinguiſhable, which alſo propagate together; but ſays that theſe are varieties only, tho' permanent and unchangeable. No difficulty is unſurmountable if words be allowed to paſs without meaning. Nor does he even preſerve any conſiſtency in his opinions: Tho' in diſtinguiſhing a horſe from an aſs, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren, yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary (*b*). At that rate a horſe and an aſs are of the ſame ſpecies. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be ſtrangely imperfect, if they were unable to diſtinguiſh a man from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it ſeems unneceſſary after all to urge any argument againſt the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himſelf inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a ſingle animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether ſuch animals can procreate together? "They are," ſays he, "of differ-"ent kinds, having no ſuch reſemblance as to make us pro-"nounce them to be of the ſame kind. Linnæus and Briſſon,"

(*a*) Vol. 10. p. 1.

(*b*) Vol. 12. p. 223.

he

he adds, " have very improperly given the name of the camel " to the lama and the pacos of Peru. So apparent is the differ- " ence; that other writers claſs theſe animals with ſheep. Wool " however is the only circumſtance in which a pacos reſembles " a ſheep: nor doth the lama reſemble a camel except in length of " neck." He diſtinguiſheth in the ſame manner, the true Aſiatic tiger from ſeveral American animals that bear the ſame name. He mentions its ſize, its force, its ferocity, the colour of its hair, the ſtrips black and white that like rings ſurround alternately its trunk, and are continued to the end of its tail; " characters," ſays he, " that clearly diſtinguiſh the true tiger from all animals " of prey in the new world; the largeſt of which ſcarce equals " one of our maſtives." And he reaſons in the ſame manner upon the other animals of the torrid zone (*a*). Here then we have M. Buffon's authority againſt himſelf, that there are different races of men; for he cannot deny that certain tribes differ apparently from each other, not leſs than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the ſheep, nor leſs than the true tiger from the American animals of that name. Which of his rules are we to follow? Muſt we apply different rules to different animals? and to what animals are we to apply the different rules? For proving that dogs were created of different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue diſtinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the maſtiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the greyhound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prickt-ear ſhepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have ſuffered every poſſible alteration from climate, food, domeſtication; the reſult would be endleſs varieties, ſo as that no one individual ſhould reſemble another. Whence then are derived the different ſpecies

(*a*) See vol. 8. ſec. Of animals common to the two continents.

of

of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleaſed to name them? Uniformity and permanency muſt be a law in their nature, for they never can be the production of chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels alſo among men: the ſeveral kinds however continue diſtinct; and probably will ſo continue for ever.

The celebrated Linnæus, inſtead of deſcribing every animal according to its kind as Adam our firſt parent did, and Buffon copying from him, has wandered wonderfully far from nature in claſſing animals. He diſtributes them into ſix claſſes, viz. *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Amphibia*, *Piſces*, *Inſecta*, *Vermes*. The *Mammalia* are diſtributed into ſeven orders, chiefly from their teeth, viz. *Primates*, *Bruta*, *Feræ*, *Glires*, *Pecora*, *Belluæ*, *Cete*. And the *Primates* are *Homo*, *Simia*, *Lemur*, *Veſpertilio*. What may have been his purpoſe in claſſing animals ſo, I cannot gueſs, if it be not to enable us, from the nipples and teeth of any particular animal, to know where it lies in his book. It reſembles the claſſing books in a library by ſize, or by binding, without regard to the contents. It may ſerve as a ſort of dictionary; but to no other purpoſe ſo far as I can diſcover. How whimſical is it to claſs together animals that nature hath widely ſeparated, a man for example and a bat? What will a plain man think of a method of claſſing that denies a whale to be a fiſh? Beſide, one would wiſh to know why in claſſing animals he confines himſelf to the nipples and the teeth, when there are many other diſtinguiſhing marks. Animals are not leſs diſtinguiſhable by their tails; long tails, ſhort tails, no tails: nor leſs diſtinguiſhable by their hands, ſome having four hands, ſome two, ſome none, &c. &c. At the

ſame time, if any ſolid inſtruction is to be acquired from ſuch claſſing, I ſhall liſten, not only with attention, but with ſatisfaction.

And now more particularly of man, after diſcuſſing other animals. If the only rule afforded by nature for claſſing animals can be depended on, there are different races of men as well as of dogs: a maſtiff differs not more from a ſpaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any faith in Providence, it ought to be ſo. Plants were created of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and ſo were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is ſcarce a climate but what is natural to ſome men, where they proſper and flouriſh; and there is not a climate but where ſome men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that as there are different climates on the face of this globe, ſo there are different races of men fitted for theſe different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beaſts, fiſh, are all of them provided with a quantity of fat which guards them againſt cold. Even the trees are full of roſin. The Eſquimaux inhabit a bitter cold country; and their blood and their breath are remarkably warm. The iſland St Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that ſort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is diſpelled in July and Auguſt by dry winds; which give vigour to Europeans, whoſe fibres are relaxed by the moiſture of the atmoſphere, as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diſeaſes in July and Auguſt than during the other ten months. On the other hand, inſtances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a ſingle inſtance where in ſuch a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have ſubſiſted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries;

turies; and yet even that length of time has not familiariſed them to the climate: they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes tranſplanted from a country equally hot: they are far from equalling in vigour of mind or body the nations from which they ſprung. The Spaniſh inhabitants of Carthagena in South America loſe their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motion is languid; and their words are pronounced with a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. Europeans who are born in Batavia ſoon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents ſufficient to bear a part in the adminiſtration. There is not an office of truſt or figure but what is filled with native Europeans. Some Portugueſe, who have been for ages ſettled on the ſea-coaſt of Congo, retain ſcarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, eſpecially about Charleſtown, is extremely hot, having no ſea-breeze to cool the air. Europeans there die ſo faſt that they have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, tho' more temperate by a regular ſucceſſion of land and ſea-breezes, recruits from Britain are neceſſary to keep up the numbers. The climate of the northern provinces reſembles our own, and population goes on with great rapidity.

Thus it appears that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon a thorough examination another fact will perhaps alſo appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the moſt wholeſome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, ſeeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the moſt knowing naturaliſts, that ſuch food is of all the moſt wholeſome for the torrid zone, comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the ſtomach. In a temperate climate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the moſt wholeſome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but

ſcarce any vegetables that can ſerve for food to man. What phyſicians pronounce upon that head, I know not; but if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the moſt wholeſome for ſuch as are made by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whoſe progeny can alſo procreate, are of one ſpecies, concludes, that all men are of one race or ſpecies; and endeavours to ſupport that favourite opinion by aſcribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental cauſes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he ſeriouſly of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cauſe, can account for the copper colour and ſmooth chin univerſal among the Americans, the prominence of the *pudenda* univerſal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no leſs univerſal among female Samoïdes? The thick fogs of the iſland St Thomas may relax the fibres of the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence then the difference with reſpect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature? It is in vain to aſcribe to the climate the low ſtature of the Eſquimaux, the ſmallneſs of their feet, or the overgrown ſize of their head. It is equally in vain to aſcribe to climate the low ſtature of the Laplanders *, or their ugly viſage. Lapland is indeed piercingly cold; but ſo is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat noſe, criſped woolly hair, and rank ſmell, diſtinguiſh them from every other race of men. The Abſſiynians on the contrary are tall and well made,

* By late accounts it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally ſprung from the ſame breed of men, and from the ſame country Pere Hel, the Jeſuit, an Hungarian, made lately this diſcovery, when ſent to Lapland for making ſome aſtronomical obſervations.

their

their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a ſparkling black, thin lips, a noſe rather high than flat. There is no ſuch difference of climate between Abyſſinia and Negroland as to produce theſe ſtriking differences. At any rate, there muſt be a conſiderable mixture both of ſoil and climate in theſe extenſive regions; and yet not the leaſt mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence, it muſt be chiefly diſplayed upon the complexion; and in that article accordingly our author exults. "Man," ſays he, "white in Europe, black in "Africa, yellow in Aſia, and red in America, is ſtill the ſame "animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the "heat is exceſſive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are per-"fectly black; where leſs exceſſive, as in Abyſſinia, the people "are leſs black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and in "Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Leſſer "Aſia, they are fair (*a*)." But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forced to acknowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a ſallow complexion; for which he has the following ſalvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the ſame effects on the ſkin. But he is totally ſilent upon a fact that ſingly overturns his whole ſyſtem of colour, viz. that all Americans without exception are of a copper colour, tho' in that vaſt continent there is every variety of climate. Neither doth the black colour of ſome Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correſpond to the climate. The people of the deſert of Zaara, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, tho' expoſed to the vertical rays of the ſun in a burning ſand yielding not even to Guinea in heat, are of a tawny colour, far from being jet black like negroes. The natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with criſped woolly hair, tho' the ſouthern parts of that extenſive kingdom are in a

(*a*) Book 5.

temperate

temperate climate, very different from that of Guinea. And the Caffres, even thoſe who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the ſame ſort of people. The heat of Abyſſinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor ſhall our author's ingenious obſervation concerning the extremities of heat and cold purchaſe him impunity with reſpect to the ſallow complexion of the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate not leſs cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I ſay more, there are many inſtances of races of people preſerving their original colour in climates very different from their own; but not a ſingle inſtance of the contrary ſo far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Penſylvania without any viſible change of colour: they continue jet black as originally. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aureſs bordering upon Algiers on the ſouth, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from ſwarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, inſtead of being dark as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his firſt book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof againſt a hot climate for a thouſand years, I pronounce that it will never yield to climate. In the ſuburbs of Cochin, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of induſtrious Jews of the ſame complexion they have in Europe. They pretend that they were eſtabliſhed there during the captivity of Babylon: it is unqueſtionable that they have been many ages in that country. Thoſe who aſcribe all to the ſun, ought to conſider how little probable it is, that the colour it impreſſes on the parents ſhould be communicated to their infant children, who never ſaw the ſun: I ſhould be as ſoon induced to believe

lieve with a German naturaliſt, whoſe name has eſcaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient cuſtom in Africa of dying the ſkin black. Let a European for years expoſe himſelf to the ſun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheleſs have the ſame complexion with thoſe in Europe. The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the ſun is it poſſible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy ſkin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day?

Different tribes are diſtinguiſhable, not leſs by internal diſpoſition than by external figure. Nations are for the moſt part ſo blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are ſavage tribes, which, ſo far as can be diſcovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, who act by inſtinct not art, who have not learned to diſguiſe their paſſions: to ſuch I confine the inquiry. There is no propenſity in human nature more general than averſion to ſtrangers, as will be made evident in a following ſketch (*a*). And yet ſome nations muſt be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to ſtrangers; by which circumſtance they appear to be of a peculiar race. In order to ſet the exceptions in a clear light, a few inſtances ſhall be premiſed of the general propenſity. The nations that may be the moſt relied on for an original character, are iſlanders at a diſtance from the continent and from each other. Among ſuch, great variety of character is found. Some iſlands adjacent to New Guinea, are inhabited by negroes, a bold, miſchievous, untractable race; always ready to attack ſtrangers when they approach the ſhore. The people of New Zealand are of a

(*a*) Book 2. ſketch 3.

large

large ſize and of a hoarſe voice. They appeared ſhy according to Taſman's account. Some of them however ventured on board in order to trade; but finding opportunity, they ſurpriſed ſeven of his men in a ſhallop, and without the ſlighteſt provocation killed three of them, the reſt having eſcaped by ſwimming. The iſland called *Recreation*, 16th degree ſouthern latitude and 148th of longitude weſt from London, was diſcovered in Roggewein's voyage. Upon ſight of the ſhips, the natives flocked to the ſhore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having beat back the natives by a continued fire of muſkets; who, returning after a ſhort interval, accepted preſents of beads, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other trinkets, without ſhewing the leaſt fear: they even aſſiſted the crew in gathering herbs for thoſe who were afflicted with the ſcurvy. Some of the crew traverſing the iſland in great ſecurity, and truſting to ſome of the natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley ſurrounded with rocks; where they were inſtantly attacked on every ſide with large ſtones; and with difficulty made their eſcape, but not without leaving ſeveral dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South ſea, an iſland was diſcovered named *Diſappointment*. The ſhore was filled with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black, and without cloathing, except what covered the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a ſpecimen is ſufficient here, as the ſubject will be fully illuſtrated in the ſketch referred to above.

The kindneſs of ſome tribes to ſtrangers deſerves more attention, being not a little ſingular. Gonneville, commander of a French ſhip in a voyage to the Eaſt Indies in the year 1503, was probably the firſt European who viſited the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*; being driven thither by a tempeſt. He continued ſix months in that country, while his veſſel was refitting; and the manners he deſcribes were in all appearance original. The natives had not made a greater progreſs in the arts of life than the ſavage Canadians have

have done; ill clothed; and worſe lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into ſmall tribes, governed each by a king; who, tho' neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his ſubjects. They were a ſimple and peaceable people; and in a manner worſhipped the French, providing them with neceſſaries, and in return thankfully receiving knives, hatchets, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other ſuch baubles. In a part of California the men go naked; and are fond of feathers and ſhells. They are governed by a king, with great mildneſs; and of all ſavages are the moſt humane, even to ſtrangers. An iſland diſcovered in the South ſea by Taſman, 21ſt degree of ſouthern latitude and 177th of longitude weſt from London, was called by him *Amſterdam*. The natives, who had no arms offenſive nor defenſive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great diſtance another iſland was diſcovered, named *Annamocha* by the natives, and *Rotterdam* by Taſman; poſſeſſed by a people reſembling thoſe laſt mentioned, particularly in having no arms. The Dutch, ſailing round the iſland, ſaw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, diſcovered, an. 1721, a new iſland in the South ſea; inhabited by a people lively, active, and ſwift of foot; of a ſweet and modeſt deportment: but timorous and faint-hearted; for having on their knees preſented ſome refreſhments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in ſtone were ſet up along the coaſt, in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned and highly finiſhed. They fled for refuge to theſe idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offenſive or defenſive. Neither was there any appearance of government or ſubordination; for they all ſpoke

and acted with equal freedom. This island, situated 28 degrees 30 minutes southern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude west from London, is by the Dutch called *Easter* or *Pasch Island* *. The Commodore directing his course north-west, discovered in the southern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluster of other islands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots, in plenty. When the ships approached the shore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fish, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreshments; for which they received small looking-glasses, strings of beads, and other toys. These islands were well peopled: many thousands thronged to the shore to see the ships, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing to be governed by a chieftain: they were of the same complexion with that of Europe, only a little more sunburnt. They were brisk and lively, treating one another with civility; and in their behaviour expressing nothing wild nor savage. Their bodies were not painted; but handsomely clothed, from the middle downward, with silk fringes in neat folds. Large hats screened their faces from the sun, and collars of odoriferous flowers surrounded their necks. The face of the country is charming, being finely diversified with hills and vallies. Some of the islands are ten miles in circumference, some fifteen, and some twenty. The historian adds, that these islanders are in all respects the most civilized and the best tempered people they discovered in the South sea. Far from being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindness; and expressed much regret at their departure. These islands got the name of *Bowman's islands*, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who discovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, while they were passing through the streights of Magel-

* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the most intimate familiarity.

lan,

lan, ſome natives approached in their canoes; and upon invitation came on board, without fear, or even ſhyneſs. They at the ſame time appeared groſsly ſtupid; and particularly could not comprehend the uſe of knives, offered to them in a preſent. In another part of the ſtreights, the natives were highly delighted with the preſents made them. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, deſcribes a people in the ſtreights of Magellan, probably thoſe laſt mentioned, as of a ſmall ſtature, tame and peaceable, having ſcarce any cloathing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron diſcovered another iſland in the South ſea covered with trees, which was named *Byron iſland*. The inhabitants were neither ſavage nor ſhy, trafficking freely with the crew, though they ſeemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ſhip. After leaving Otaheite, Mr Banks and Dr Solander, ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a cluſter of iſlands, termed by them *Society iſlands:* the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no averſion to ſtrangers. The iſland of Oahena, north-weſt from that of Otaheite, is a delightful ſpot; the ſoil fertile, and the ſhores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants are well proportioned, with regular engaging features; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hoſpitality and probity to the people of the ſhip in which theſe gentlemen made a late voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of theſe remote iſlands differing ſo widely from the reſt of the world as to have no averſion to ſtrangers, but on the contrary ſhowing great kindneſs to the firſt they probably ever ſaw, is a ſingular phenomenon. It is in vain here to talk of climate; becauſe in all climates we find an averſion to ſtrangers. From the inſtances given above, let us ſelect two iſlands, or two cluſters of iſlands, ſuppoſe for example Bowman's iſlands inhabited by Whites, and thoſe adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindneſs to ſtrangers is the national character

of the former, and hatred to ſtrangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices as entering into the character of individuals, depend on cauſes ſo various, and ſo variable, as to give an impreſſion of chance more than of deſign. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the ſame perſon; far leſs that ſons will inherit their father's virtues or vices. In moſt countries, a ſavage who has no averſion to ſtrangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as ſingular: to find the ſame quality in every one of his children, would be ſurpriſing: and would be ſtill more ſo, were it diffuſed widely through a multitude of his deſcendents. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation; and when we find kindneſs to ſtrangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with diſdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively that effects ſo regular and permanent muſt be owing to a conſtant and invariable cauſe. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education or example, which indeed may contribute to ſpread a certain faſhion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cauſe. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What reſource then have we for explaining the oppoſite manners of the iſlanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races?

The ſame doctrine is ſtrongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to theſe; but a national character of courage or cowardice muſt depend on a permanent and invariable cauſe. I therefore proceed to inſtances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himſelf, whether he can diſcover any other cauſe for ſuch ſteady uniformity but diverſity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Aſia have at all times been remarkable

remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, univerſal among them, that they ſhould be happy in another world.

Vobis auctoribus, umbræ,
Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis ſi cognita) vitæ
Mors media eſt. Certe populi, quos deſpicit Arctos,
Felices errore ſuo; quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces
Mortis * (*a*).

Pretty well for a poet! but among all nations the ſoul is believed to be immortal, tho' all nations have not the courage of the

* "If dying mortals dooms they ſing aright,
"No ghoſts deſcend to dwell in endleſs night;
"No parting ſouls to griſly Pluto go,
"Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent ſhades below;
"But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
"And other bodies in new worlds they find.
"Thus life for ever runs its endleſs race,
"And, like a line, Death but divides the ſpace;
"A ſtop which can but for a moment laſt,
"A point between the future and the paſt.
"Thrice happy they beneath the northern ſkies,
"Who that worſt fear, the fear of death, deſpiſe;
"Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
"But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel;
"Provoke approaching fate, and bravely ſcorn
"To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return."

Rowe.

(*a*) Lib. 1.

Scandi-

Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue; and yet had no ſuch opinion of happineſs after death as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy ſort of exiſtence, like what is deſcribed by Homer (*b*). Their courage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring iſlands, who are all of the ſame race and ſpeak the ſame language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any of the human ſpecies, tho' they inhabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never obſerve a treaty of peace when they have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Inſtances there are, more than one, of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat venturing, with no other weapons but poniards, to attack a European ſhip of war. Theſe men inhabit a moſt fruitful country, which ſhould naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquiſite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endleſs ſucceſſion; ſufficient to ſink any other people into voluptuouſneſs. They are a remarkable exception from the obſervation of Herodotus, "That "it is not given by the gods to any country, to produce rich crops "and warlike men." This inſtance, with what are to follow, ſhow paſt contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are of all men the moſt intrepid, and the leaſt apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midſt of the torrid zone of Africa: and ſo are the Anſieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live moſtly within the torrid zone, are bold and reſolute, holding war to be intended for them by Providence. The African negroes, tho' living in the hotteſt known country, are yet ſtout and vigorous, and the moſt healthy people in the univerſe. I need

(*a*) Odyſſey, b. 11.

ſcarce

ſcarce mention again the negroes adjacent to New Guinea, who have an uncommon degree of boldneſs and ferocity. But I mention with pleaſure the iſland Otaheite, diſcovered in the South ſea by Wallis, becauſe the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmneſs of mind. The inhabitants are numerous; and tho' the Dolphin was probably the firſt ſhip they had ever ſeen, yet they reſolutely marched to the ſhore, and attacked her with a ſhower of ſtones. Some volleys of ſmall ſhot made them give way: but returning with redoubled ardour, they did not totally loſe heart till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror; but adviſing together, they aſſumed looks of peace, and ſignified a willingneſs to forbear hoſtilities. Peace being ſettled, they were ſingularly kind to our people, ſupplying their wants, and mixing with them in friendly intercourſe *. When Mr Banks and Dr Solander were on the coaſt of New Holland, the natives ſeeing ſome of our men fiſhing near the ſhore, ſingled out a number of their own equal to thoſe in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the ſtrangers to fight them; an inſtance of the moſt heroic courage. The people in that part of New Holland muſt be a very different race from thoſe whom Dampier ſaw.

A noted author (*a*) holds all ſavages to be bold, impetuous, and proud; aſſigning for a cauſe, their equality and independence. As in that obſervation he ſeems to lay no weight on climate, and as little on original diſpoſition, it is with regret that my ſubject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with reſpect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all ſavages, is in-

* It is remarkable that theſe people roaſt their meat with hot ſtones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Oſſian.

(*a*) Mr Ferguſon.

deed

deed applicable to many ſavage tribes, our European forefathers in particular; but not to all. It but faintly ſuits even the North-American ſavages, whom our author ſeems to have had in his eye; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on ſtratagem and ſurpriſe. They value themſelves, it is ſaid, upon ſaving men; but as that motive was no leſs weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneneſs of our forefathers to open violence, vouches for their ſuperiority in active courage. The following incidents reported by Charlevoix give no favourable idea of ſome North-Americans with regard to that ſort of courage. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by ſome Iroquois. They approached ſilently, preparing to ſcale the paliſade, when ſome muſket-ſhot made them retire. Advancing a ſecond time, they were again repulſed, wondering that they could diſcover none but a woman, who was ſeen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as reſolute as if ſupported by a numerous garriſon. The hopes of ſtorming a place without men to defend it, occaſioned reiterated attacks. After two days ſiege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the ſame nation appeared before the fort ſo unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to ſhut the gate. With the young woman there was not a ſoul but one raw ſoldier. She ſhowed herſelf with her aſſiſtant, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; changing her dreſs frequently in order to give ſome appearance of a garriſon, and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without ſucceſs.

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their paſſive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates upon the torments they endure, not only patiently, but with ſingular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmoſt cruelty. North-American ſavages differ indeed ſo widely from thoſe

thoſe formerly in Europe, that it is difficult to conceive them to be of the ſame race. Paſſive courage they have even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for active courage than for paſſive. The Kamſkatkans in every article reſemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of ſtratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without mercy, burn their priſoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be ſurrounded, and cannot eſcape, they turn deſperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themſelves into the midſt of their enemies. And yet theſe people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe they make no difficulty of ſuicide when they fall into any diſtreſs. But their paſſive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confeſſion, they ſhow the utmoſt firmneſs; and ſeldom diſcover more than what they freely confeſs at their firſt examination.

The ſavages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, ſubmiſſive, and a little cowardly; tho' they yield not to the North-Americans as to equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marion or Ladrone iſlands live in a ſtate of perfect equality: every man avenges the injury done to himſelf; and even children are regardleſs of their parents. Yet theſe people are great cowards: in battle indeed they utter loud ſhouts; but it is more to animate themſelves than to terrify the enemy. The negroes in the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for courage. The Laplanders are of all the human ſpecies the moſt timid: upon the ſlighteſt ſurpriſe they fall down in a ſwoon like the feebleſt female in England: thunder ſhakes them to pieces. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moſs: it would be ſcarce habitable but for rain-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

The Macaſſars, inhabitants of the iſland Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fierceſt European ſavages; and they equal the North-American ſavages in paſſive courage. During the reign of Chaw Naraya King of Siam, a ſmall party of Macaſſars, who were in the king's pay, having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to ſubdue them. Four Maccaſſars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beat to mummy with cudgels, iron pins thruſt under their nails, all their fingers broken, the fleſh burnt off their arms, and their temples ſqueezed between boards; yet they bore all with unparallelled firmneſs. They even refuſed to be converted to Chriſtianity, tho' the Jeſuits upon that occaſion offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let looſe, having faſtened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word, bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back. A third ſuffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without ſhrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid ſpectacle, they never once bewailed themſelves, nor were heard to groan.

In concluding from the foregoing facts, that there are different races of men, I reckon upon ſtrenuous oppoſition, not only from men biaſſed againſt what is new or uncommon, but from numberleſs ſedate writers, who hold every diſtinguiſhing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of ſoil and climate. Againſt the former, patience is my only ſhield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endleſs number of writers who aſcribe ſupreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius ſhall take the lead. The firſt chapter of his ſixth book is entirely employed in deſcribing the influence of climate on the conſtitution and temper of the natives. The

The following is the ſubſtance. " For the ſun, where he throws " out a moderate degree of moiſture, preſerves the body in a " temperate ſtate; but where his rays are more fierce, he drains " the body of moiſture. In very cold regions, where the moi- " ſture is not ſuck'd up by the heat, the body, ſucking in the " dewy air, riſes to a great ſize, and has a deep tone of voice. " Northern nations accordingly, from cold and moiſture, have " large bodies, a white ſkin, red hair, gray eyes, and much " blood. Nations, on the contrary, near the equator, are of ſmall " ſtature, tawny complexion, curled hair, black eyes, ſlender " legs, and little blood. From want of blood they are cowardly: " but they bear fevers well, their conſtitution being formed by " heat. Northern nations, on the contrary, ſink under a fe- " ver; but from the abundance of blood, they are bold in war." In another part of the chapter he adds, " From the thinneſs of the " air, and enlivening heat, ſouthern nations are quick in thought, " and acute in reaſoning. Thoſe in the north, on the contrary, " which breathe a thick and cold air, are dull and ſtupid." And this he illuſtrates from the caſe of ſerpents, which in ſummer-heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and immoveable. He then proceeds as follows. " It is then not at all " ſurpriſing, that heat ſhould ſharpen the underſtanding, and cold " blunt it. Thus the ſouthern nations are ready in counſel and " acute in thought; but make no figure in war, their courage " being exhauſted by the heat of the ſun. The inhabitants of " cold climates, prone to war, ruſh on with vehemence without " the leaſt fear; but are ſlow of underſtanding." Then he proceeds to account, upon the ſame principle, for the ſuperiority of the Romans in arms, and for the extent of their empire. " For " as the planet Jupiter lies between the fervid heat of Mars and " the bitter cold of Saturn; ſo Italy, in the middle of the tempe-

" rate zone, poſſeſſes all that is favourable in either climate. Thus " by conduct in war ſhe overcomes the impetuous force of nor- " thern barbarians; and by vigour of arms confounds the politic " ſchemes of her ſouthern neighbours. Divine providence ap- " pears to have placed the Romans in that happy ſituation, in or- " der that they might become maſters of the world."——Vegetius accounts for the different characters of men from the ſame principle. " Omnes nationes quæ vicinæ ſunt ſoli, nimio calo- " re ſiccatas, amplius quidem ſapere, ſed minus habere ſanguinis " dicunt: ac propterea conſtantiam ac fiduciam cominus non " habere pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera qui ſe exiguum ſan- " guinem habere noverunt. Contra, ſeptentrionales populi, remoti " a ſolis ardoribus, inconſultiores quidem, ſed tamen largo ſan- " guine redundantes, ſunt ad bella promptiſſimi * (*a*)."——Servius, in his commentary on the Æneid of Virgil (*b*), ſays, "Afri verſipel- " les, Græci leves, Galli pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum " facit †."——Mallet, in the introduction to his hiſtory of Denmark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, ſtrains hard to derive ferocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate: " A " great abundance of blood, fibres ſtrong and rigid, vigour inex-

* " Nations near the ſun, being exſiccated by exceſſive heat, are ſaid to have a " greater acuteneſs of underſtanding but leſs blood: on which account, in fight- " ing they are deficient in firmneſs and reſolution; and dread the being wounded, " as conſcious of their want of blood. The northern people, on the contrary, re- " moved from the ardor of the ſun, are leſs remarkable for the powers of the " mind; but abounding in blood, they are prone to war."

† " The Africans are ſubtle and full of ſtratagem, the Greeks are fickle, the " Gauls ſlow of parts, all which diverſities are occaſioned by the climate."

(*a*) Lib. 1. cap. 2. De re militari.

(*b*) Lib. 6. ver. 724.

" hauſtible,

" hauſtible, formed the temperament of the Germans, the Scan-
" dinavians, and of all other people who live under the ſame cli-
" mate. Robuſt by the climate, and hardened with exerciſe, con-
" fidence in bodily ſtrength formed their character. A man who
" relies on his own force, cannot bear reſtraint, nor ſubmiſſion to
" the arbitrary will of another. As he has no occaſion for arti-
" fice, he is altogether a ſtranger to fraud or diſſimulation. As
" he is always ready to repel force by force, he is not ſuſpicious
" nor diſtruſtful. His courage prompts him to be faithful in
" friendſhip, generous, and even magnanimous. He is averſe
" to occupations that require more aſſiduity than action; becauſe
" moderate exerciſe affords not to his blood and fibres that degree
" of agitation which ſuits them. Hence his diſguſt at arts and
" manufactures; and as paſſion labours to juſtify itſelf, hence his
" opinion, that war only and hunting are honourable profeſſions."
Before ſubſcribing to this doctrine, I wiſh to be ſatisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greateſt quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he alſo certain, that ferocity and love of war did univerſally obtain among the northern Europeans? Tacitus reports

* At that rate, the loſs of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an eſſential ingredient in magnanimity and heroiſm: are ſuch elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no ſhare? This indeed would be a mortifying circumſtance in the human race. But even ſuppoſing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and eaſily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a diſeaſe, termed a *plethora*. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the ſolids. When by the vigour and elaſticity of the heart and arteries a briſk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good ſpirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, inſtead of raiſing courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce ſluggiſhneſs, and depreſſion of mind.

a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: "Tam immenſum terrarum ſpatium non tenent "tantum Chauci, ſed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobi- "liſſimus, quique magnitudinem ſuam malit juſtitia tueri. Sine "cupiditate, ſine impotentia, quieti, ſecretique, nulla provocant "bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præci- "puum virtutis ac virium argumentum eſt, quod ut ſuperiores "agunt, non per injurias aſſequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus "arma, ac, ſi res poſcat, exercitus * (*a*)." Again, with reſpect to the Arii, he bears witneſs, that beſide ferocity and ſtrength of body, they were full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correſpond to his deſcription, being remarkable for puſillanimity, tho' inhabitants of a bitter cold country †. Laſtly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averſe to occupations that require more aſſiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to ſtudy and literature; and for many centuries were the chief hiſtorians of the north. They are to this day fond of cheſs, and ſpend much of their time

* "So immenſe an extent of country is not poſſeſſed only, but filled by the "Chauci; a race of people the nobleſt among the Germans, and who chuſe to "maintain their grandeur by juſtice rather than by violence. Confident of their "ſtrength, without the thirſt of increaſing their poſſeſſions, they live in quietneſs "and ſecurity: they kindle no wars; they are ſtrangers to plunder and to rapine; "and what is the chief evidence both of their power and of their virtue; without "oppreſſing any, they have attained a ſuperiority over all. Yet when occaſion "requires, they are prompt to take the field; and their troops are ſpeedily raiſed."

† Scheffer, in his hiſtory of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he aſcribes the puſillanimity of the Laplanders to the coldneſs of their climate.

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

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in that amuſement: there is ſcarce a peaſant but who has a cheſs-board and men. Mr Banks and Dr Solander report, that the peaſants of Iceland are addicted to hiſtory, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe.

The moſt formidable antagoniſt remains ſtill on hand, viz. Monteſquieu, who is a great champion for the climate; obſerving, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit habitation for men; that they degenerate in it, loſe their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That juſtly celebrated author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that ſo large a portion of the globe is fit for beaſts only, not for men? He ought to have explained why a certain race of men may not be fitted for a hot climate, as others are for a temperate, or for a cold one. There does not appear any oppoſition between heat and courage, more than between cold and courage: on the contrary, courage ſeems more connected with heat than with cold. The fierceſt and boldeſt animals, a lion, for example, a tiger, a panther, thrive no where ſo much as in the hotteſt climates. The great condor of Peru in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion viſibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is ſometimes crowned with ſnow, have not the boldneſs, nor the force, nor the ferocity of ſuch as tread the burning ſands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. Our author, it is true, endeavours to ſupport his opinion by natural cauſes. Theſe are ingenious and plauſible; but unluckily they are contradicted by ſtubborn facts, which will appear upon a very ſlight ſurvey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living inſtances of uncommon puſillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and inſtances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To theſe

I add the Hindows, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; tho' he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily ſubmit to dreadful tortures, and that even women are ambitious to burn themſelves alive with their deceaſed huſbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for ſuch extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as paſſive, by the force of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herſelf alive, than on a man to meet his enemy in battle. The Malayans and Scandinavians live in very oppoſite climates, and yet are equally courageous. Providence has placed theſe nations each of them in its proper climate: cold would benumb a Malayan in Sweden, heat would enervate a Swede in Malacca; and both would be rendered cowards. I ſtop here; for to enter the liſts againſt an antagoniſt of ſo great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground.

The colour of the Negroes, as above obſerved, affords a ſtrong preſumption of their being a different race from the Whites; and I once thought, that the preſumption was ſupported by inferiority in their underſtanding. But it appears to me doubtful, upon ſecond thoughts, whether the inferiority of their underſtanding may not be occaſioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgement nor in prudence but by exerciſing theſe powers. At home the negroes have little occaſion to exerciſe either of them: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little cloathing: and they erect houſes without trouble or art. Abroad, they are miſerable ſlaves, having no encouragement either to think or to act. Who can ſay how far they might improve in a ſtate of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the ſweat of their brows? Some kingdoms in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The negroes, particularly on the gold-coaſt, are naturally gay: they are induſtrious,

induſtrious, apprehend readily what is ſaid to them, have a good judgement, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themſelves readily to the manners of ſtrangers.

I ſhall cloſe the ſurvey with ſome inſtances that ſeem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chuſe in their ſtead the moſt promiſing children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to their offspring: ſuppoſing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more diſtinguiſhable from the reſt of mankind * ? The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poiſon compoſed by the natives, ſays, " I do not find " that even in their wars they ever uſe poiſoned arrows. And yet " it may be wondered, that a people living under no laws, actu- " ated with no religious principle, and unreſtrained by the fear " of preſent or future puniſhment, ſhould not ſometimes employ " that fatal poiſon for gratifying hatred, jealouſy, or revenge. " But in a ſtate of nature, though there are few reſtraints, there " are alſo fewer temptations to vice; and the different tribes are

* I have oftener than once doubted whether the authors deſerve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not preſs it upon my readers. There is only one conſideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz. the little affection that male ſavages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of expoſing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and had ſhe a vote, no infant would ever be deſtroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of deſtroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation who live by rapine, and who can provide themſelves with children more eaſily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

" doubtleſs ſenſible that poiſoned arrows in war, would upon the " whole do more miſchief than good." This writer it would ſeem has forgot, that proſpects of future good or evil never have influence upon ſavages. Is it his opinion, that fear of future miſchief to themſelves, would make the negroes of New Guinea abſtain from employing poiſoned arrows againſt their enemies? We have nothing but original diſpoſition to account for manners ſo ſingular in the ſavages of Guiana. The Japaneſe reſent injuries in a manner which has not a parallel in any other part of the world: it is indeed ſo ſingular as ſcarce to be conſiſtent with human nature. Others wreak their reſentment on the perſon who affronts them; but an inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on himſelf: he rips up his own belly. Kempfer reports the following inſtance. A gentleman coming down the great ſtair of the Emperor's palace, paſſed another going up, and their ſwords happened to claſh. The perſon deſcending took offence: the other excuſed himſelf, ſaying that it was accidental; adding, that the ſwords only were concerned, and that his was as good as the other. I'll ſhow you the difference, ſays the perſon who began the quarrel: he drew his ſword, and ripped up his own belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented in revenge, haſtened up with a plate he had in his hand for the Emperor's table; and returning with equal ſpeed, he in like manner ripped up his belly in ſight of his antagoniſt, ſaying, " If I had not been ſerving my prince, you ſhould not have " got the ſtart of me: but I ſhall die ſatisfied, having ſhow'd you " that my ſword is as good as yours." The ſame author gives an inſtance of uncommon ferocity in the Japaneſe, blended with manners highly poliſhed. In the midſt of a large company at dinner, a young woman, ſtraining to reach a plate, unwarily ſuffered wind to eſcape. Aſhamed and confounded, ſhe raiſed her breaſts to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the ſpot. The Japaneſe are equally ſingular in ſome of their religious

gious opinions. They never ſupplicate the gods in diſtreſs; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliſs, ſuch ſupplications would be offenſive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feaſts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, ſay they, to ſee men happy. They are far from being ſingular in thinking that a benevolent deity is pleaſed to ſee men happy; but nothing can be more inconſiſtent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in diſtreſs it is wrong to ſupplicate the author of our nature for relief, and that he will be diſpleaſed with ſuch ſupplication. In deep affliction, there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent deity, and expreſſing entire reſignation to his will.

In ſupport of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars ſtill more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occaſion for artifice; and I would not take advantage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or uncertain. The Greeks and Romans made an illuſtrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts; but they were little better than novices in natural hiſtory. More than half of the globe was to them what the *Terra Auſtralis incognita* is to us; and imagination operates without control when it is not checked by knowledge: the ignorant at the ſame time are delighted with wonders; and the more wonderful a ſtory is, the more welcome it is made. This may ſerve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant, in a great meaſure, of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One conceſſion will be made to me, that the writers mentioned who report things at ſecond hand, are much more excuſable than the earlieſt of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endleſs wonders from their own knowledge. Natural hiſtory, that of man eſpecially, is of late years much ripen-

ed: no improbable tale is ſuffered to paſs without a ſtrict examination; and I have been careful to adopt no facts but what are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true what Diodorus Siculus reports on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the eaſt coaſt of Afric, it would be a more pregnant proof of a diſtinct race of men than any I have diſcovered. They are deſcribed to be ſo ſtupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their ſight, they ſtand inſenſible, and give no ſigns either of anger or of compaſſion. This I cannot believe upon ſo ſlight teſtimony; and the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being leſs acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. The Balearic iſlands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are at no great diſtance from Sicily; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the ſolemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the houſehold ſervants, lay with the bride before the bridegroom was admitted. *Credat Judeus appella.* It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is ſaid by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt; or of the Arimaſpi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Aſtomi, who having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon ſmelling; or of a thouſand other abſurdities which Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his natural hiſtory, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus upon an extenſive ſurvey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing ſo widely from each other, not only in complexion, in features, in ſhape, and in other external circumſtances, but in temper and diſpoſition, particularly in two capital articles, courage and the treatment of ſtrangers, that even the certainty of there being different races could not make one expect more ſtriking differences. Doth M. Buffon think

it

it ſufficient, barely to ſay, that ſuch differences may poſſibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental cauſes? The preſumption is, that the differences ſubſiſting at preſent have always ſubſiſted; which ought to be held as true, till poſitive evidence be brought of the contrary: inſtead of which we are put off with bare ſuppoſitions and poſſibilities.

But not to reſt entirely upon preſumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there muſt be different races of men fitted for different climates. Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of ſeaſons in the ſame climate, but with change of weather in the ſame ſeaſon. Can ſuch a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impoſſible. A man muſt at leaſt be hardened by nature againſt the ſlighter changes of ſeaſons or weather: he ought to be altogether inſenſible of ſuch changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's obſervations on the diſeaſes of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military men, who ought of all to be the hardieſt, are greatly affected by them. Horſes and horned cattle ſleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm; and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is ſo much more delicate, that he cannot ſleep on wet ground without hazard of ſome mortal diſeaſe?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one ſpecies, there never could have exiſted, without a miracle, different kinds, ſuch as exiſt at preſent. Giving allowance for every ſuppoſeable variation of climate, or of other natural cauſes, what can follow, as obſerved about the dog-kind, but endleſs varieties among individuals, as among tulips in a garden, ſo as that no individual ſhall reſemble another. Inſtead of which we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing not leſs remarkably from the individuals of every other

other kind. Uniformity and permanency are the offspring of deſign, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears alſo to have weight: Horſes with reſpect to ſize, ſhape, and ſpirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female of whatever climate be carried to a country where horſes are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof, that all horſes are of one kind? If ſo, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the reſult will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary; but a mongrel breed differing from both parents. It is thus aſcertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that theſe races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reaſon to conclude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as hiſtory goes, or tradition kept alive by hiſtory, the earth was inhabited by ſavages divided into many ſmall tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itſelf. Is it not natural to ſuppoſe, that theſe original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon ſumming up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one heſitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. "That God created many pairs of the human race, differing from each other both externally and internally; that he fitted theſe pairs for different climates, and placed each pair in its proper climate; that the peculiarities of the original pairs were preſerved entire in their deſcendents;

" deſcendents; who, having no aſſiſtance but their natural ta-
" lents, were left to gather knowledge from experience, and in
" particular were left (each tribe) to form a language for itſelf;
" that ſigns were ſufficient for the original pairs, without any
" language but what nature ſuggeſts; and that a language was
" formed gradually, as a tribe increaſed in numbers, and in differ-
" ent occupations, to make ſpeech neceſſary?" But this opinion, however plauſible, we are not permitted to adopt; being taught a different leſſon by revelation, viz. That God created but a ſingle pair of the human ſpecies. Tho' we cannot doubt of the authority of Moſes, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it ſeems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men muſt have ſpoken the ſame language, viz. that of our firſt parents. And what of all ſeems the moſt contradictory to that account, is the ſavage ſtate: Adam, as Moſes informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the ſavage ſtate? To account for that diſmal cataſtrophe, mankind muſt have ſuffered ſome terrible convulſion.

That terrible convulſion is revealed to us in the hiſtory of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Geneſis, which is, " That for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was
" of one language, and of one ſpeech; that they united to build
" a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower whoſe top
" might reach unto heaven; that the Lord beholding the people
" to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would
" be reſtrained from them which they imagined to do, confound-
" ed their language, that they might not underſtand one another;

" and

" and ſcattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth." Here light breaks forth in the midſt of darkneſs. By confounding the language of men, and ſcattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered ſavages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of conſtitution, the builders of Babel could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houſes not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them againſt a deſtructive climate. Againſt this hiſtory it has indeed been urged, " that " the circumſtances mentioned evince it to be purely an allegory; " that men never were ſo frantic as to think of building a tower " whoſe top might reach to heaven; and that it is groſsly abſurd, " taking the matter literally, that the Almighty was afraid of " men, and reduced to the neceſſity of ſaving himſelf by a mi- " racle." But that this is a real hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be admitted, as the confuſion of Babel is the only known fact that can reconcile ſacred and profane hiſtory.

And this leads us to conſider the diverſity of languages *. If the

* As the ſocial ſtate is eſſential to man, and ſpeech to the ſocial ſtate, the wiſdom of providence in fitting men for acquiring that neceſſary art, deſerves more attention than is commonly beſtowed on it. The Orang Outang has the external organs of ſpeech in perfection; and many are puzzled to account why it never ſpeaks. But the external organs of ſpeech make but a ſmall part of the neceſſary apparatus. The faculty of imitating ſounds is an eſſential part; and wonderful would that faculty appear, were it not rendered familiar by practice: a child of two or three years, is able, by nature alone without the leaſt inſtruction, to adapt its organs of ſpeech to every articulate ſound; and a child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe ſo as to emit a ſound of any elevation, which enables it with an ear to imitate the ſongs it hears. But above all the other parts, ſenſe and underſtanding

the common language of men had not been confounded upon their attempting the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries conſtantly ſuppoſe a migrating ſpirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never deſert their connections nor their country without neceſſity: fear of enemies and of wild beaſts, as well as the attraction of ſociety, are more than ſufficient to reſtrain them from wandering; not to mention that ſavages are peculiarly fond of their natal ſoil *. The firſt migrations were probably occaſioned by factions and

derſtanding are eſſential to ſpeech. A parrot can pronounce articulate ſounds, and it has frequently an inclination to ſpeak; but, for want of underſtanding, none of the kind can form a ſingle ſentence. Has an Orang Outang underſtanding to form a mental propoſition? has he a faculty to expreſs that propoſition in ſounds? and ſuppoſing him able to expreſs what he ſees and hears, what would he make of the connective and disjunctive particles?

* With reſpect to the ſuppoſed migrating ſpirit, even Bochart muſt yield to Kempfer in boldneſs of conjecture. After proving, from difference of language, and from other circumſtances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chineſe, Kempfer without the leaſt heſitation ſettles a colony there of thoſe who attempted the tower of Babel. Nay he traces moſt minutely their road to Japan; and concludes, that they muſt have travelled with great expedition, becauſe their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it neceſſary to explain, what temptation they had to wander ſo far from home; nor why they ſettled in an iſland, not preferable either in ſoil or climate to many countries they muſt have traverſed.

An ingenious French writer obſerves, that plauſible reaſons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early poliſhed in iſlands than in continents; as people, crowded together, ſoon find the neceſſity of laws to reſtrain them from miſchief. And yet, ſays he, the manners of iſlanders and their laws are commonly the lateſt formed. A very ſimple reflection would have unfolded the myſtery.

and civil wars; the next by commerce. Greece affords inſtances of the former, Phœnicia of the latter. Unleſs upon ſuch occaſions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is neceſſary for food; and by retiring gradually, they loſe neither their connections nor their manners, far leſs their language, which is in conſtant exerciſe. As far back as hiſtory carries us, tribes without number are diſcovered, each having a language peculiar to itſelf. Strabo (*a*) reports, that the Albanians were divided into ſeveral tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæſar found in Gaul ſeveral ſuch tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes that to this day continue diſtinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at preſent, tho' numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly exiſted. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conqueſt frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events promote one language inſtead of many. The Celtic tongue, once extenſive, is at preſent confined to the highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to a part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will ſhare the fate of many other original tongues: it will be totally forgotten.

If men had not been ſcattered every where upon the confuſion of Babel, another particular muſt have occurred, differing not leſs from what has really happened than that now mentioned.

Many many centuries did men exiſt without thinking of navigation. That art was not invented till men, ſtraitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent iſlands.

(*a*) Book 2.

As

As paradiſe is conjectured to have been ſituated in the heart of Aſia, the ſurrounding regions, for the reaſon above given, muſt have been firſt peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother-country were undoubtedly carried along to every new ſettlement. In particular, the colonies planted in America, the South-ſea iſlands, and the *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, muſt have been highly poliſhed; becauſe, being at the greateſt diſtance, they probably were the lateſt. And yet theſe and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original ſavage ſtate of hunting and fiſhing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whoſe top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have ſpoken the ſame language, but would have made the ſame progreſs toward maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reverſed all nature: by ſcattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of ſociety, and rendered them ſavages. From that ſtate of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, ſtimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progreſs; ſome have proceeded more ſlowly; and ſome continue ſavages. To trace out that progreſs toward maturity in different nations, is the ſubject of the preſent undertaking.

SKETCH II.

Progreſs of Men with reſpect to FOOD and POPULATION.

IN temperate climates, the original food of men was fruits that grow without culture, and the fleſh of land-animals. As ſuch animals become ſhy when often hunted, there is a contrivance of nature, no leſs ſimple than effectual, which engages men to bear with chearfulneſs the fatigues of hunting, and the uncertainty of capture; and that is, an appetite for hunting. Hunger alone is not ſufficient: ſavages, who act by ſenſe not by foreſight, move not when the ſtomach is full; and it would be too late when the ſtomach is empty, to form a hunting-party. As this appetite belongs to every ſavage who depends on hunting for procuring food; it is one inſtance, among many, of providential wiſdom, in adapting the internal conſtitution of man to his external circumſtances. The appetite for hunting, tho' among us little neceſſary for food, is, to this day, viſible in our young men, high and low, rich and poor. Natural propenſities may be rendered faint or obſcure, but never are totally eradicated.

It is probable, that fiſh was not early the food of man. Water is not our element; and ſavages probably did not attempt to draw any food from the ſea or from rivers, till land-animals turned ſcarce. Plutarch in his Sympoſiacs obſerves, that the Syrians and Greeks of old abſtained from fiſh. Menelaus (*a*) complains,

(*a*) Book 4. of the Odyſſey.

that

that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and tho' the Grecian camp, at the ſiege of Troy, was on the ſea-ſhore, there is not in Homer a ſingle hint of their feeding on fiſh. We learn from Dion Caſſius, that the Caledonians did not eat fiſh, tho' they had them in plenty; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch hiſtorian, in his life of St Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almoſt entirely on deer for food, becauſe in a cold country the fruits that grow ſpontaneouſly afford very little nouriſhment; and domeſtic animals, which at preſent ſo much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts, and other ſhell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally; overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which muſt, from the creation, have grown ſpontaneouſly: for ſurely, when agriculture firſt commenced, ſeeds of theſe plants were not procured by a miracle *. The Lapland-

* Writers upon natural hiſtory have been ſolicitous to diſcover the original climate of theſe plants; but without much ſucceſs. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a ſecret: but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature; the ſeeds are carefully gathered, and ſtored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make theſe ſeeds ſcarce, agriculture was early thought of, which, by introducing plants into new ſoils and new climates, has rendered the original climate obſcure. If we can trace that climate, it muſt be in regions deſtitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. The Sioux, a very ſmall tribe in North-America, poſſeſs a vaſt country, where oats grow ſpontaneouſly in meadows and on the ſides of rivers, which make part of their food, without neceſſity of agriculture. While the French poſſeſſed Port Dauphin in the iſland of Madagaſcar, they raiſed excellent wheat. That ſtation was deſerted many years ago; and wheat to this day grows naturally among the graſs in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Paleſtine, barley and oats grow ſpontaneouſly. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many ſpots where rice grows ſpontaneouſly, year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for ſaying, that in the territory of Leontinum, and in other parts of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does ſo to this day about Mount Etna.

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ers, poſſeſſing a country where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linneus reports, that ſwine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fiſhing, promotes population: but as conſumption of food increaſes with population, wild animals, ſorely perſecuted, become not only more rare but more ſhy. Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for ſupplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive, and tamed for amuſement, ſuggeſted probably flocks and herds, and introduced the ſhepherd-ſtate. Changes are not perfected but by ſlow degrees: hunting and fiſhing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domeſticated, ſerve as a common ſtock to be diſtributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, tho' the leaſt deſerving, are thus the greateſt conſumers of the common ſtock, an improvement was ſuggeſted, that every family ſhould rear a ſtock for themſelves. Men by that politic regulation being taught to rely on their own induſtry, diſplay'd the hoarding-principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And thus the ſhepherd-ſtate was perfected, plenty of food being ſupplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fiſhing being no longer neceſſary for food, became an amuſement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly traced in the proviſion made of animal food for man. Gramenivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholeſome food. I except not the horſe: ſome nations feed on it; others do not, becauſe it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally ſpeaking, make not wholeſome food nor palatable. The firſt-mentioned animals are gentle, and eaſily domeſticated: the latter are fierce, not eaſily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Graſs grows every where

where in temperate regions; and men beſide can multiply animal food without end, by training domeſtic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potato, and other roots, &c. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, "that divine providence has rendered extremely prolific ſuch "creatures as are naturally fearful, and ſerve for food; leſt they "ſhould be deſtroyed by conſtant conſumption: whereas the ra-"pacious and cruel are almoſt barren. The hare, which is the "prey of beaſts, birds, and men, is a great breeder: a lion-"neſs, on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt and fierceſt of beaſts, brings "forth but once."

The ſhepherd-ſtate is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and in proceſs of time neighbouring tribes, ſtraitened in their paſture, go to war for extenſion of territory, or migrate to grounds not yet occupied. Neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted agriculture. When corn growing ſpontaneouſly was rendered ſcarce by conſumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation with ſeeds, that drop from plants in their maturity, and ſpring up new plants. As the land was poſſeſſed in common, the ſeed of courſe was ſown in common, and ſtored in a common repoſitory to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common ſtock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be laboured for the uſe of the public, and that the product was ſtored up, and diſtributed from time to time among the neceſſitous. A laſting diviſion of the land among the members of the ſtate, ſecuring to each man the product of his own ſkill and labour, was a great ſpur to induſtry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progreſs, and government became

came an art; for agriculture and commerce cannot flouriſh without ſalutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more eaſy; which circumſtances make it highly probably, that agriculture became firſt an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was ſo early known in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous hiſtory: in Egypt it muſt have been coeval with the inhabitants; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot ſubſiſt without corn (*a*). Nor without corn could the ancient monarchies of Aſſyria and Babylon have been ſo populous and powerful as they are ſaid to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, peaſe, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants: as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture muſt have crept northward by ſlow degrees; and even at preſent, it requires no ſmall portion both of ſkill and induſtry to bring corn to maturity in ſuch a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the ſhepherd-ſtate continued longer in northern climates than in thoſe nearer the ſun. Cold countries however are friendly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be ſupplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many ſwarms in ſearch of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful ſcourge to neighbouring kingdoms. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they iſſued muſt have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed *officina gentium*; but ſcarcity of food in the ſhepherd-ſtate was the true cauſe. The north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at preſent as ever it was, tho' its migrations have ceaſed, corn and commerce having put an end

(*a*) Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract 1.

to

to that peſtilence *. Denmark at preſent feeds 2,000,000 of inhabitants, Sweden, according to a liſt made up *anno* 1760, 2,383,113; and theſe countries muſt be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immenſe woods, and agriculture utterly unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries, when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail veſſels upon a tempeſtuous ocean, in order to diſtreſs nations who were not their enemies. But hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to theſe pirates ſuperiority in arms above every nation that enjoyed plenty at home. Luckily ſuch depredations muſt have intervals; for as they neceſſarily occaſion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding ſufficiency of food at home, reſt there till an increaſing population force them again to action †. Agriculture,

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* Monteſquieu accounts as follows for the great ſwarms of Barbarians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. "Ces eſ-"ſaims de Barbares qui ſortirent autrefois du nord, ne paroiſſent plus aujour-"d'hui. Les violences des Romains avoient fait retirer les peuple du midi au "nord: tandis que la force qui les contenoit ſubſiſta, ils y reſterent; quand elle fut "affoiblie, ils ſe repandirent de toutes parts." *Grandeur des Romains*, c. 16.—[*In Engliſh thus:* "The ſwarms of Barbarians who poured formerly from the "north, appear no more. The violence of the Roman arms had driven thoſe "nations from the ſouth towards the north: there they remained during the "ſubſiſtence of that force which retained them; but that being once weakened, "they ſpread abroad to every quarter."] —— It has quite eſcaped him, that men cannot, like water, be dam'd up without being fed.

† Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his hiſtory of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

which fixes people to a ſpot, is an invincible obſtacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that agriculture, now univerſally diffuſed, has put an end for ever to ſuch migrations: the northern people find occupation and ſuſtenance at home, without infeſting others. Agriculture is a great bleſſing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but ſecures the fruits of our induſtry from hungry and rapacious invaders *.

That the progreſs above traced muſt have proceeded from ſome vigorous impulſe will be admitted, conſidering the prevailing influence of cuſtom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they be forc'd out of that ſtate by ſome overpowering cauſe. Hunger, the cauſe here aſſigned, is of all the moſt overpowering; and the ſame cauſe, overcoming indolence and idleneſs, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts †.

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* Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his ſubjects; but having the reputation of the philoſopher's ſtone, he was reſtored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promiſing to communicate the ſecret to him. Mahomet ſent a plough with great pomp and ceremony, intimating, that agriculture is the ſtrength of a kingdom, and that the only philoſopher's ſtone is a good crop, which may be eaſily converted into gold.

† Buffon diſcourſing of America, "Is it not ſingular," ſays he, "that in a "world compoſed almoſt wholly of ſavages, there never ſhould have been any ſociety "or commerce between them and the animals about them? There was not a do-"meſtic animal in America when diſcovered by Columbus, except among the po-"liſhed people of Mexico and Peru. Is not this a proof, that man, in his ſavage "ſtate, is but a ſort of brute animal, having no faculties but to provide for his "ſubſiſtence, by attacking the weak, and avoiding the ſtrong; and having no idea "of his ſuperiority over other animals, which he never once thinks of bringing "under ſubjection? This is the more ſurpriſing, as moſt of the American ani-"mals are by nature docile and timid." Our author, without being ſenſible of it, lays

The progreſs here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the old world, been preciſely uniform; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-ſtate was originally eſſential. In temperate regions, as obſerved above, men ſubſiſted partly on vegetable food, which is more and more plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid zone, natural fruits are produced in ſuch plenty and perfection, as to be more than ſufficient for a moderate population: and in caſe of extraordinary population, the tranſition to huſbandry is eaſy. There are found accordingly in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raiſed by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus leſs and leſs neceſſary in the progreſs from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progreſs: it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food: it is leſs vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits; and there is ſcarce any veſtige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of ſavages, both in cold and temperate climates, is hunting, altogether eſſential in the former as the only means of procuring food. The next ſtep of the progreſs in both, is the occupation of a ſhepherd; and there the progreſs ſtops ſhort in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lap-

lays a foundation for a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, by what he adds, viz. That in the whole compaſs of America, when diſcovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe; and that ſuch ſcarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation of wild animals, which had few enemies and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude from theſe premiſes, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning ſhepherds?

land in particular produces no vegetable but moſs, which is the food of no animal but of the rain-deer. This circumſtance ſolely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rain-deer, the ſea-coaſts within the reach of fiſh would admit ſome inhabitants; but the inland parts would be a deſert. As the ſwiftneſs of that animal makes it not an eaſy prey, the taming it for food muſt have been early attempted; and its natural docility made the attempt ſucceed. It yields to no other animal in uſefulneſs: it is equal to a horſe for draught: its fleſh is excellent food; and the female gives milk more nouriſhing than that of a cow: its fur is fine; and the leather made of its ſkin, is both ſoft and durable. In Tartary, tho' a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little corn. As far back as tradition reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds; and yet, in a great meaſure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of that ſtate: they are not fond of being ſhepherds, and have not any knowledge of huſbandry. This in appearance is ſingular; but nothing happens without a cauſe. Tartary is one continued mountain from weſt to eaſt, riſing high above the countries to the ſouth; and declining gradually to the northern ocean, without a ſingle hill to intercept the bitter blaſts of the north. A few ſpots excepted, a tree above the ſize of a ſhrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of Norway and Lapland are a comfortable ſcreen againſt the north wind: whence it is, that the ground about Stockholm (*a*) pro-

* May not a ſimilar ſituation in ſome parts of North America, be partly the occaſion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the ſame latitude?

(*a*) Latitude 59.

duces

duces both trees and corn; and even about Abo (*a*) the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with paſture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Thro' all Chineſe Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the froſt continues ſeven or eight months every year; and that country, tho' in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland; the cauſes of which are its nitrous ſoil, and its height without any ſhelter from the weſt wind that has paſſed through an immenſe continent extremely cold. A certain place near the ſource of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the great wall, was found by Father Verbeiſt to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the ſea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the ſhepherd-ſtate, and can never advance to be huſbandmen. If population among them ever be ſo great as to require more food than the ſhepherd-ſtate can ſupply, migration will be their only reſource.

In every ſtep of the progreſs, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or ſhepherd ſtate were ever known there: the inhabitants at preſent ſubſiſt upon vegetable food; and probably did ſo from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine iſlands, the trees bud, bloſſom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven from the ſea-coaſt to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the ſhelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation; and when the fruit is conſumed in one ſpot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year: a ſprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila anſwers to numberleſs places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone iſlands are extremely populous; and yet

(*a*) Latitude 61.

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the inhabitants live entirely on fiſh, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine iſlands live on cocoa-nuts, ſalads, roots, and fiſh. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, conſiſting moſtly of rice, fruits, and roots. The iſland of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made; and by temperance, vegetables and fiſh being their chief nouriſhment, they live to a good old age, with ſcarce any ailment. There is no ſuch thing known among them as rotten teeth: the very ſmell of wine or ſpirits is diſagreeable; and they never deal in tobacco nor ſpiceries. In many places Indian corn is the chief nouriſhment, which every man plants for himſelf. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the deſert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and ſtrangers to the diſeaſes of luxury and idleneſs, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagaſcar will travel two or three days without any food but a ſugar cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; tho' beef and fowl have in ſmall quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are obſervable ſome variations from the progreſs; but theſe are reſerved for a ſeparate ſketch (*a*).

With reſpect to population in particular, that plenty of food is its chief cauſe, may be illuſtrated by the following calculation. The ſouthern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, ſometimes three; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten mouths. The peaſants go almoſt naked; and the better ſort wear but a ſingle garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may cloath four or five hundred perſons. Hence the extreme populouſneſs of China and other rice coun-

(*a*) Book 2. ſketch 12.

tries.

tries. The Caſſave root, which ſerves the Americans for bread, is produced in ſuch plenty, that an acre of it will feed more perſons than ſix acres of wheat. It is not then for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled is paſt doubt, conſidering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Inſtances are not extremely rare of 200 children born to one man by his different wives. Food muſt be extremely plentiful to enable a man to maintain ſo many children. It would require extraordinary ſkill and labour to make Europe ſo populous: an acre and an half of wheat is barely ſufficient to maintain a ſingle family of peaſants; and their cloathing requires many more acres. A country of ſavages, who live chiefly by hunting, muſt be very thin of inhabitants; as 10,000 or double that number of acres are no more than ſufficient for maintaining a ſingle family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than ſheep: a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former: yet we ſee every where large flocks of ſheep, ſeldom a wolf; for what reaſon, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little? A wolf reſembles a ſavage who lives by hunting, and conſumes the game of five or ſix hundred acres.

Waving the queſtion, Whether the human race be the offſpring of one pair, or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth ſhould be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By theſe means a tribe ſoon becomes too populous for the primitive ſtate of hunting and fiſhing: it may even become too populous for the ſhepherd-ſtate; but probably a nation can ſcarce be too populous for huſbandry. In the two former ſtates, food muſt decreaſe in quantity as conſumers increaſe in number: but agriculture has the ſignal property

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of producing, by induſtry, food in proportion to the number of conſumers. In fact the greateſt quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the moſt populous diſtricts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, ſober and induſtrious, made a ſhift to maintain his family on the product of a few acres *.

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two reſpects; firſt, becauſe huſbandry requires many hands; and, next, becauſe the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obſtruct population; becauſe paſture requires few hands, and exportation would raiſe the price of cattle at home. From the ſingle port of Cork, an. 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 barrels of pork, 13,461 caſks of butter, and 85,727 firkins of the ſame commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is ſet apart for feeding other nations. What addition of ſtrength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were conſumed at home by uſeful manufacturers!

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even for the ſhepherd-ſtate, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rain-deer, and conſequently a greater number of the human ſpecies than are found in it. At the ſame time, the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rain-deer of their own, to the extent ſometimes of four or five hundred. They indeed ſeem to have more rain-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland ſo thinly peopled? Either

* Scotland muſt have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth James, when at one hunting in the high country of Roxburghſhire, that Prince killed three hundred and ſixty red-deer; and in Athol, at another time, ſix hundred, beſides roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

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it muſt have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is alſo but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are leſs prolific than their neighbours, it is probable that Tartary, being the moſt barren country in Aſia, has not been early planted. At the ſame time population has been much retarded by the reſtleſs and roaming ſpirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the ſhepherd-ſtate by want of food; but ſo averſe are they to the ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, that they truſt their cattle to ſlaves, and perſevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This diſpoſition has been a dreadful peſt to the human ſpecies, the Tartars having made more extenſive conqueſts, and deſtroy'd more men, than any other nation known in hiſtory: more cruel than tigers, they ſeemed to have no delight but in blood and maſſacre, without any regard either to ſex or age *. Luckily for the human ſpecies, rich ſpoils dazzled their eyes, and rouſed an appetite for wealth. Avarice is ſometimes productive of good: it moved theſe monſters to ſell the conquered people for ſlaves, which preſerved the lives of millions. Conqueſts, however ſucceſsful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accompliſhed without great loſs of men; and the conqueſts of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as ſome centuries have elapſed without any conſiderable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers muſt at preſent be conſiderable by the ordinary progreſs of population. Have we not reaſon to dread new eruptions, like what formerly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events extends not far; but ſo far as it

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was ſeriouſly deliberated, whether they ſhould not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vaſt country into paſture-fields for their cattle.

extends, we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars ſubdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, ſupported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war; but were as far from being ſlaves, as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a ſubſtituted power, and never had the audacity to aſſume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have ſubmitted to the ſame yoke of deſpotiſm that their ferocity impoſed upon others; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by ſlavery, and they are no longer formidable to the reſt of mankind *.

Depopulation enters into the preſent ſketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great ſtate, where the people, by proſperity and opulence, are ſunk into voluptuouſneſs, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates like a peſtilence; becauſe when it becomes an art, it brings within the compaſs of one ſtomach what is ſufficient for ten in days of temperance; and is ſo far worſe than a peſtilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at preſent more food than the ſame number did

* "Gallos in bellis floruiſſe accepimus," ſays Tacitus in his life of Agricola; "mox ſegnities cum otio intravit, amiſſa virtute pariter ac libertate." — [*In Engliſh thus:* "We have heard that the Gauls formerly made a figure in war; but "becoming a prey to indolence, the conſequence of peace, they loſt at once "their valour and their liberty."] —— Spain, which defended itſelf with great bravery againſt the Romans, became an eaſy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free ſtates: when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by ſlavery under Roman deſpotiſm.

formerly.

formerly. The like is obſervable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are propoſed and put in practice, celebacy diſgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a numerous offspring. All in vain! The only effectual remedies are to encourage huſbandry, and to repreſs luxury. Olivares hoped to repeople Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging induſtry, and procuring plenty of food, he repeopled his kingdom in leſs than thirty years *.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the induſtrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuouſneſs, or rather is a branch of it: women of rank ſeldom move, but in changing place employ others to move them; and a woman enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the ſevere labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only prevents population, but increaſes luxury, by accumulating wealth among a few blood-relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be perſuaded to make a trial, they would find more ſelf-enjoyment in temperance and exerciſe, than in the moſt refined luxury; and would have no cauſe to envy others the bleſſing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population by enervating men and women, than deſpotiſm is by reducing them to ſlavery, and

* A foundling hoſpital is a greater enemy to population than liberty to expoſe infants, which is permitted to parents in China, and in ſome other countries. Both of them indeed encourage matrimony: but in ſuch hoſpitals, thouſands periſh yearly beyond the ordinary proportion; whereas few infants periſh by the liberty of expoſing them, parental affection generally prevailing over the diſtreſs of poverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loſes.

deſtroying induſtry. Deſpotiſm is a greater peſt to the human ſpecies than an Egyptian plague; for by rendering men miſerable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free ſtates, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy longs for children to make them alſo happy; and induſtry enables him to accompliſh his purpoſe. This obſervation is verified from the hiſtory of Greece, and of the Leſſer Aſia: the inhabitants anciently were free and extremely numerous: the preſent inhabitants, reduced to ſlavery, make a very poor figure with reſpect to numbers. A peſtilence deſtroys thoſe only who exiſt, and the loſs is ſoon repaired; but deſpotiſm, as above obſerved, ſtrikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cauſe of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increaſes with the quantity of circulating money, which of courſe raiſes the price of manufactures; and manufacturers who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, muſt give over buſineſs, and commence beggars, or retire to another country where they may have a proſpect of ſucceſs. But luckily, there is a remedy in that caſe to prevent depopulation: land is cultivated to greater perfection by the ſpade than by the plough; and the more plentiful crops produced by the ſpade are more than ſufficient to defray the additional expence of cultivation. This is a reſource for employing thoſe who cannot make bread as manufacturers; and deſerves well the attention of the legiſlature. The advantage of the ſpade is conſpicuous with reſpect to war; it provides a multitude of robuſt men for recruiting our armies, the want of whom may be ſupplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

SKETCH

SKETCH III.

Progreſs of Men with reſpect to PROPERTY.

AMong the ſenſes inherent in the nature of man, the ſenſe of property is eminent. By this ſenſe wild animals caught by labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fiſher; they become his *property*. This ſenſe is the foundation of *meum et tuum*, a diſtinction of which no human being is ignorant. In the ſhepherd-ſtate, there is the ſame perception of property with reſpect to wild animals tamed for uſe, and alſo with reſpect to their progeny. It takes place alſo with reſpect to a field ſeparated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himſelf and family (*a*).

The ſenſe of property is ſlower in its growth toward maturity than the external ſenſes, which are perfect even in childhood; but ripens faſter than the ſenſe of congruity, of ſymmetry, of dignity, of grace, and other delicate ſenſes, which ſcarce make any figure till we become men. Children diſcover a ſenſe of property in diſtinguiſhing their own chair, and their own ſpoon. In them however it is faint and obſcure, requiring time to bring it to perfection. The gradual progreſs of that ſenſe, from its infancy among ſavages to its maturity among poliſhed nations, is one of the moſt entertaining articles that belong to the preſent undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Hiſtorical

(*a*) See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

law-

law-tracts (*a*), nothing remains for me but a few gleanings.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for ſtoring up things of uſe; and the ſenſe of property is beſtow'd on men, for ſecuring to them what they thus ſtore up. Hence it appears, that things provided by Providence for our ſuſtenance and accommodation, were not intended to be poſſeſſed in common; and probably in the earlieſt ages every man ſeparately hunted for himſelf and his family. But chance prevails in that occupation; and it may frequently happen, that while ſome get more than enough, others muſt go ſupperleſs to bed. Senſible of that inconvenience, it crept into practice, for hunting and fiſhing to be carried on in common *. We find accordingly the practice of hunting and fiſhing in common, even among groſs ſavages. Thoſe of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon ſmall fiſh dug out of the ſand when the ſea retires. Sometimes they get plenty,

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few inſtances, vaniſh almoſt entirely when the operation is frequently reiterated during a courſe of time. Did every man's ſubſiſtence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a diſtrict, leſſen the hazard of famine: the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, ſuch as France or Britain, leſſens it ſtill more: extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain ſcarce a veſtige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it ſhould fail univerſally is beyond the varieties of chance. The ſame obſervation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loſs at game for a night, for a week, may be conſiderable; but carry on the game for a year, and ſo little of chance remains, that it is almoſt the ſame whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a ſkilful inſurer never ventures much upon one bottom; but multiplies his bargains as much as poſſible: the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of ſucceſs.

(*a*) Tract 3.

ſometimes

ſometimes very little; but whether ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, all is broiled and eat in common. After eating they go to reſt: they return to their fiſhing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they muſt, or ſtarve. In ſmall tribes, where patriotiſm is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is extremely comfortable: but in a large ſtate where ſelfiſhneſs prevails, or in any ſtate where great population requires extraordinary culture, the beſt method is to allow every man to ſhift for himſelf and his family: men wiſh to labour for themſelves; and they labour more ardently for themſelves than for the public. Private property became more and more ſacred in the progreſs of arts and manufactures: to allow an artiſt of ſuperior talents no profit above others, would be a ſad diſcouragement to induſtry, and be ſcarce conſiſtent with common juſtice.

The ſenſe of property is not confined to the human ſpecies. The beavers perceive the timber they ſtore up for food, to be their property; and the bees ſeem to have the ſame perception with reſpect to their winter's proviſion of honey. Sheep know when they are in a treſpaſs, and run to their own paſture on the firſt glimpſe of a man. Monkies do the ſame when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a ſenſe of property with reſpect to their reſting-place in a fold or incloſure, which every one guards againſt the incroachment of others. He muſt be a ſceptic indeed who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a rook purloin a ſtick from another's neſt, a council is held, much chattering enſues, and the *lex talionis* is applied, by demoliſhing the neſt of the criminal. To man are furniſhed rude materials only: to convert theſe into food and cloathing requires induſtry; and if he had not a ſenſe that the product of his labour belongs to himſelf, his induſtry would be extremely faint. In general,

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it is pleaſant to obſerve, that the ſenſe of property is always given where it is uſeful, and never but where it is uſeful.

An ingenious writer, deſcribing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fiſhers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happineſs they enjoy, in having few wants and deſires, and in having very little notion of private property. "The manners of "theſe Indians exhibit an amiable picture of primeval innocence "and happineſs. The eaſe with which their few wants are ſup- "plied, renders diviſion of land unneceſſary; nor does it afford "any temptation to fraud or violence. That proneneſs to vice, "which among civilized nations is eſteemed a propenſity of na- "ture, has no exiſtence in a country where every man enjoys in "perfection his native freedom and independence, without hurt- "ing or being hurt by others. A perfect equality of rank, ba- "niſhing all diſtinctions but of age and perſonal merit, promotes "freedom in converſation, and firmneſs in action; and ſuggeſts "no deſires but what may be gratified with innocence. Envy and "diſcontent cannot ſubſiſt with perfect equality; we ſcarce even "hear of a diſcontented lover, as there is no difference of rank and "fortune, the common obſtacles that prevent fruition. Thoſe who "have been unhappily accuſtomed to the refinements of luxury, "will ſcarce be able to conceive, that an Indian, with no covering "but what modeſty requires, with no ſhelter that deſerves the "name of a houſe, and with no food but of the coarſeſt kind "painfully procured by hunting, can feel any happineſs: and yet "to judge from external appearance, the happineſs of theſe people "may be envied by the wealthy of the moſt refined nations; and "juſtly; becauſe their ignorance of extravagant deſires, and end- "leſs purſuits that torment the great world, excludes every wiſh "beyond the preſent. In a word, the inhabitants of Guiana are "an example of what Socrates juſtly obſerves, that thoſe who "want the leaſt, approach the neareſt to the gods, who want "nothing."

" nothing." It muſt be acknowledged, that the innocence of ſavages, here painted in fine colours, is in every reſpect more amiable than the luxury of opulent cities, where ſenſuality and ſelfiſhneſs are ruling paſſions. But is our author unacquainted with a middle ſtate between the two extremes, more ſuitable than either to the dignity of human nature? The appetite for property is not beſtow'd upon us in vain: it has given birth to many uſeful arts, and to almoſt all the fine arts; it is ſtill more uſeful in furniſhing opportunity for gratifying the moſt dignified natural affections; for without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity (*a*)? Without private property, there would be no induſtry; and without induſtry, men would remain ſavages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great bleſſing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curſe when it tranſgreſſes the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite ſeldom was immoderate, becauſe plain neceſſaries were its only objects. But money is a ſpecies of property, of ſuch extenſive uſe as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be induſtrious; and the beautiful productions of induſtry and art, rouſing the imagination, excite a violent deſire of fine houſes, ornamented gardens, and of every thing gay and ſplendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and ſenſuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and muſt be gratified even at the expence of juſtice and honour. Examples are without number of this progreſs; and yet the following hiſtory deſerves to be kept in memory, as a ſtriking and lamentable illuſtration. Hiſpaniola was that part of America which Columbus firſt diſcovered *anno* 1497. He landed upon the territory of

(*a*) Hiſtorical law-tracts, tract 3.

Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the iſland. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, received his gueſts with cordiality; and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spaniſh appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richeſt ornaments; and in return, were ſatisfied with glaſs beads, and ſuch baubles. The Admiral's ſhip having been toſſed againſt the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occaſion: he convened a number of men to aſſiſt in unloading the ſhip; and attended himſelf till the cargo was ſafely lodged in a magazine. The Admiral having occaſion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the leſſons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonſtrances of Guacanaric were in vain: they ſeized upon the gold and wives of the Indians; and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long paſs unreſented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodſhed, were ſhut up in their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war enſued, which did not end till the iſlanders were wholly brought under. Of this iſland, about 200 leagues in length and between ſixty and eighty in breadth, a Spaniſh hiſtorian bears witneſs, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentleſs in their cruelty, forc'd theſe poor people to abandon the culture of their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beaſts even in theſe retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which deſtroy'd more than the ſword, forc'd them to deliver themſelves up to their implacable conquerors.

* As little corn was at that time produced in the iſland, and leſs of animal food, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the numbers are exaggerated. But whether a million, or a half of that number, the moral is the ſame.

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There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as ſlaves. Exceſſive fatigue in the mines, and want of even the common neceſſaries of life, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Conſidering them merely as beaſts of burden, they would have yielded more profit had they been treated with leſs inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end: by graſping too much, it loſes all. The Emperor Charles reſolved to apply ſome effectual remedy; but being interrupted for ſome time by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were ſo in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and ſubſiſted as by a miracle in the midſt of their enemies. That handful were diſcovered many years after by ſome hunters; who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and ſubmiſſive, embraced the Chriſtian religion, and aſſumed by degrees the manners and cuſtoms of their maſters. They ſtill exiſt, and live by hunting and fiſhing.

Affection for property! Janus double-fac'd, productive of many bleſſings, but degenerating often to be a curſe. In thy right hand, Induſtry, a cornucopia *of plenty*: in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box *of deadly poiſon.*

SKETCH IV.

Origin and Progreſs of COMMERCE.

THE few wants of men in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are ſupplied by barter or permutation in its rudeſt form. In barter, the rational conſideration is, what is wanted by the one, and what can be ſpared by the other. But ſavages are not always ſo clear-ſighted: a ſavage who wants a knife will give for it any thing that is leſs uſeful to him at preſent; without conſidering either the preſent wants of the perſon he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fiſh-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an iſland adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarſe linen not worth three halfpence, give proviſions worth three or four ſhillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted and to what can be ſpared on both ſides; and in that leſſon, the American ſavages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miſerably deficient, when men and their wants multiplied. That ſort of commerce cannot be carried on at a diſtance; and even among neighbours, it does not always happen, that the one can ſpare what the other wants. Barter is ſomewhat enlarged by covenants: a buſhel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promiſing an equivalent at a future time. But what if I have nothing that my

my neighbour may have occaſion for? or what if my promiſe be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves ſtill inſufficient. The numberleſs wants of men cannot readily be ſupplied without ſome commodity in general eſtimation, that will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other article of commerce. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expenſive in keeping, nor be conſumable by time. Gold and ſilver are metals which poſſeſs theſe properties in an eminent degree. They are at the ſame time perfectly homogeneous in whatever country produced: two maſſes of pure gold or of pure ſilver are always equal in value, provided they be of the ſame weight. Theſe metals are alſo diviſible into ſmall parts, convenient to be given for goods of ſmall value.

Gold and ſilver, when firſt introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-ſalt in Ethiopia, white as ſnow and hard as ſtone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates of a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broke off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more nicety came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and ſilver: inſtead of being given looſely by bulk, every portion was weighed in ſcales: and this method of barter is practiſed in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length diſcovered to be an imperfect ſtandard. Ethiopian ſalt may be proof againſt adulteration; but weight is no ſecurity againſt mixing gold and ſilver with baſe metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and ſilver are impreſſed with a public ſtamp, vouching both the purity and quantity; and ſuch pieces are termed *coin*. This was a notable improvement in commerce; and, like other improvements, was probably at firſt thought the utmoſt ſtretch of human invention. It was not foreſeen, that theſe metals wear by much handling in the

the courſe of circulation; and conſequently, that in time the public ſtamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniences; for which no other remedy occurs, but to reſtore the former method of weighing, truſting to the ſtamp for the purity only. This proves an embarraſſment in commerce; but it will facilitate paper-money, which is free of that embarraſſment.

When gold or ſilver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, ſuch commerce paſſes under the common name of *barter* or *permutation:* when current coin is exchanged, ſuch commerce is termed *buying* and *ſelling*; and the money exchanged is termed *the price of the goods.*

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a ſtandard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſtandard, it ſeems difficult to ſay by what means the ſtandard has been eſtabliſhed. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common meaſure by which they can be valued: two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty; but what rule have we to compare wheat with broad cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold even with ſilver or copper? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employ'd in raiſing food; which labour is ſaid to be a ſtandard for meaſuring the value of all other labour, and conſequently of all things produced by labour. " If, for example, a buſhel of " wheat and an ounce of ſilver be produced by the ſame quantity " of labour, will they not be equal in value?" This ſtandard is imperfect in many reſpects. I obſerve, firſt, that to give it a rational appearance, there is a neceſſity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employ'd are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a braſs candleſtick as one of ſilver,

ſilver, tho' far from being of the ſame value. A buſhel of wheat may ſometimes equal in value an ounce of ſilver; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a buſhel of wheat; and yet they differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of ſilver were of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: ſuch a doctrine will not reliſh with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of diamond mines. Secondly, The ſtandard under review ſuppoſes every ſort of labour to be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An uſeful art in great requeſt, may not be generally known: the few who are ſkilful may juſtly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert huſbandman beſtows no more labour in raiſing a hundred buſhels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raiſing fifty: if labour be the only ſtandard, the two crops ought to afford the ſame price. Was not Raphael intitled to a higher price for one of his fine tablatures, than a dunce is for a tavern-ſign, ſuppoſing the labour to have been equal? Laſtly, As this ſtandard is applicable to things only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with reſpect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Laying aſide then this attempt to fix a ſtandard, it occurs to me, that the value of a commodity depends chiefly, tho' not ſolely, on the demand. Quantity beyond the demand renders even neceſſaries of no value; of which water is an inſtance. It may be held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can ſatisfy; and riſes in proportion to the exceſs of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where the

the demand exceeds the quantity: in arid regions, ſprings of water are highly valued; and in old times were frequently the occaſion of broils and bloodſhed. Comparing next different commodities with reſpect to value, that commodity of which the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinſic value only to be conſidered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold; but as the exceſs of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of leſs value in the market. A pound of opium or of Jeſuit's bark is, for its ſalutary effects, more valuable than gold; and yet, for the reaſon given, a pound of gold will purchaſe many pounds of theſe drugs. Thus, in general, the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the ſtandard that chiefly fixes the mercantile value of commodities *.

The cauſes that make a demand, ſeem not ſo eaſily aſcertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for neceſſaries in any country, muſt depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not ſo ſtrictly in articles of convenience; becauſe ſome people are more greedy of conveniencies than others. As to articles of taſte and luxury, the demand appears ſo arbitrary as ſcarce to be reducible to any rule. A taſte for beauty is general; but ſo different in different perſons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint repreſentation of any plant in an agate, is valued by ſome for its rarity; but the demand is far from being univerſal. Savages are deſpiſed for being fond of glaſs beads; but were

* In a voyage to Arabia Fœlix, ann. 1708, by a French ſhip, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thouſand or twelve hundred pounds for a fuſee, and three ſcore pound-weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were eſtimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

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ſuch toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinſic value; and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and ſilver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at firſt, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With reſpect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expenſive in keeping, ſuch as cattle, or that are impaired by time, ſuch as corn, will always be firſt offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when ſuch goods are offered to ſale, the vender muſt be contented with the current price: in making the bargain the purchaſer has the advantage; for he ſuffers not by reſerving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money to the loweſt value that can afford any profit. At the ſame time, gold and ſilver ſooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter is regulated both by the quantity and by the demand; the value of the former is regulated by the quantity only, the demand being unbounded: and even with reſpect to quantity, theſe precious metals are leſs variable than other commodities.

Gold and ſilver being thus ſooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a ſtandard for valuing every other commodity, and conſequently for comparative values. A buſhel of wheat, for example, being valued at five ſhillings, a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A ſtandard of values is eſſential to commerce; and therefore where gold and ſilver are unknown, other ſtandards are eſtabliſhed by practice. The only ſtandard among the ſavages of North America is the ſkin of a beaver. Ten of theſe are given for a gun, two for a pound of gun-powder, one for four pounds of

lead, one for ſix knives, one for a hatchet, ſix for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ ſhells, termed *couries*, for a ſtandard.

As my chief view in this ſketch is, to examine how far induſtry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating coin, I premiſe, in that view, the following plain propoſitions. Suppoſing, firſt, the quantity of money in circulation, and the quantity of goods in the market, to continue the ſame, the price will riſe and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, thoſe who offer the higheſt price will be preferred: as, on the other hand, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no reſource but to entice purchaſers by a low price. The price of fiſh, fleſh, butter, and cheeſe, is much higher than formerly; for theſe being now the daily food even of the loweſt people, the demand for them is greatly increaſed.

Suppoſing now a fluctuation in the quantity of goods only, the price falls as the quantity increaſes, and riſes as the quantity decreaſes. The farmer whoſe quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable ſeaſon, muſt ſell at half the uſual price; becauſe the purchaſer, who ſees a ſuperfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens upon a ſcanty crop: thoſe who want corn muſt ſtarve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for tho' the demand has increaſed, yet by ſkill and induſtry the quantities produced have increaſed in a greater proportion. More pot-herbs are conſumed than formerly; and yet by ſkilful culture the quantity is ſo much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to leſs than one half of what it was eighty years ago.

It is eaſy to combine the quantity and demand, ſuppoſing a fluctuation in both. Where the quantity exceeds the uſual demand, more people will be tempted to purchaſe by the low price; and where the demand riſes conſiderably above the quantity, the price will riſe in proportion. In mathematical language, theſe propoſitions may be thus expreſſed, that the price is *directly* as the demand, and *inverſely* as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the moſt intricate circumſtance; becauſe it never happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty however to ſuppoſe, that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for tho' that cannot happen in reality, yet the reſult of the ſuppoſition will throw light upon what really happens: the ſubject is involved, and I wiſh to make it plain. I put a ſimple caſe, that the half of our current coin is at once ſwept away by ſome extraordinary accident. This at firſt will embarraſs our internal commerce, as the vender will inſiſt for the uſual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of ſuch demand will ſoon be diſcovered; and the price of commodities, after ſome fluctuation, will ſettle at the one half of what it was formerly. At the ſame time, there is here no downfal in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchaſing for a ſixpence what formerly coſt a ſhilling, makes no alteration in the value of the things purchaſed; becauſe a ſixpence is equal in value to what a ſhilling was formerly. In a word, when money is ſcarce, it muſt bear a high value: it muſt in particular go far in the purchaſe of goods; which we expreſs by ſaying, that goods are cheap.——Put next the caſe, that by ſome accident our ſpecie is inſtantly doubled. Upon ſuppoſition that the quantity and demand continue unvaried, the reſult muſt be, not inſtantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former

ſuppoſition, a ſixpence is in effect advanced to be a ſhilling: upon the preſent ſuppoſition, a ſhilling has in effect ſunk down to a ſixpence. And here again it ought to be obſerved, that tho' the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, ſome years ago, could have been purchaſed for ten pounds, will at preſent yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has riſen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in ſome degree, be occaſioned by a greater conſumption; but it is chiefly occaſioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation *.

Combining all the circumſtances, the reſult is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the ſame, the price will fall as the quantity increaſes, and riſe as the quantity diminiſhes.

Theſe ſpeculative notions will, I hope, enable us with accuracy to examine, how induſtry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent, without coin.

* It is commonly thought, that the rate of intereſt depends on the quantity of circulating coin; that intereſt will be high when money is ſcarce, and low when money abounds. But whatever be the cauſe of high or low intereſt, I am certain that the quantity of circulating coin can have no influence. Suppoſing, as above, the half of our money to be withdrawn, a hundred pounds lent ought ſtill to afford but five pounds as intereſt; becauſe if the principal be doubled in value, ſo is alſo the intereſt. If, on the other hand, the quantity of our money be doubled, the five pounds of intereſt will continue to bear the ſame proportion to the principal as formerly.

Hands,

Hands totally employ'd in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, becauſe they muſt go to market for every neceſſary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the ſhoemaker, the gardener, the farmer, muſt employ ſervants to prepare their goods for the market, to whom, for that reaſon, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among an endleſs number of individuals who depend on each other even for neceſſaries, would be altogether inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be juſtly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the ſprings and wheels of a great machine, and preſerves it in motion *. Suppoſing us now to be provided with no more of that precious oil than is barely ſufficient for the eaſy motion of our induſtry and manufactures, a diminution of the neceſſary quantity muſt cramp all of them. Our induſtry and manufactures muſt decay; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our preſent circumſtances, which ſeldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn againſt us, and leave us no reſource for making the balance equal, but to export our gold and ſilver. And when we are drained of theſe metals, farewell to arts and manufactures. We ſhall be reduced to the condition of ſavages, which is, that each individual depends entirely on his own labour for procuring every neceſſary of life. The conſequences of a favourable balance are at firſt directly oppoſite: but at the long-run come out to be the ſame: they are ſweet in the mouth, but bitter in the ſtomach. A briſk influx of

* Money cannot be juſtly ſaid to be deficient where there is ſufficiency to purchaſe every commodity, including labour, that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be ſeen afterward. But to be forc'd to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and conſequently to be ſubjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of ſcarcity of money; which till of late was remarkably the caſe in Scotland.

riches

riches by a favourable balance, rouſes our activity. Plenty of money elevates our ſpirits, and inſpires an appetite for pleaſure: we indulge a taſte for ſhow and embelliſhment; become hoſpitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the moſt ſedate, to exert themſelves in building, in huſbandry, in manufactures, and in other ſolid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raiſed by the additional demand. The labourer again whoſe wages are thus raiſed, is not now ſatisfied with mere neceſſaries; but inſiſts for conveniencies, the price of which alſo is raiſed by the new demand. In ſhort, increaſe of money raiſes the price of every commodity; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional demand for ſupplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of proſperous commerce: but behold the remote conſequences. High wages will undoubtedly promote at firſt the ſpirit of induſtry, and double the quantity of labour: but the utmoſt exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds; and conſequently a perpetual influx of gold and ſilver will not for ever be attended with a proportional quantity of work: The price of labour will riſe in proportion to the quantity of money; but the produce will not riſe in the ſame proportion; and for that reaſon our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a diſmal ſcene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home, with ſome profit, he muſt abandon foreign commerce altogether. And what is ſtill more diſmal, we ſhall be deprived even of our own markets; for in ſpite of the utmoſt vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The laſt ſcene is to be deprived of our gold and ſilver, and reduced to the ſame miſerable ſtate as if the balance had been againſt us from the beginning.

However,

However certain it may appear, that an augmentation in the quantity of money muſt raiſe the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that ſeems to contradict the propoſition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures ſo cheap as in the two peninſulas on the right and left of the Ganges, tho' in no other country is there ſuch plenty of money. To account for this ſingular fact, political writers ſay, that money is there amaſſed by the nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not ſatisfactory: the chief exportation from theſe peninſulas are their manufactures, the price of which comes firſt to the merchant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raiſing the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapneſs of neceſſaries, tho' it hath a conſiderable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot have an effect ſo extraordinary as to keep it conſtantly down, in oppoſition to an overflowing current of money. The populouſneſs of theſe two countries is a circumſtance that has been totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how ſuch ſwarms of people can find bread, however fertile the ſoil may be. Let us examine that circumſtance. One thing is evident, that were the people fully employ'd, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here then is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people at the ſame time, ſober and induſtrious, are glad to be employ'd at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour makes always ſome addition. Hence it is, that in theſe peninſulas, ſuperfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, ſerves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now ſaid diſcovers an error in the propoſition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an augmentation

tion in the circulating coin raiſes the price of labour and of manufactures: but ſuch augmentation has no ſenſible effect in a country where there is a ſuperfluity of hands, who are always diſpoſed to work when they find employment.

From theſe premiſes it will be evident, that unleſs there be a ſuperfluity of hands, manufactures can never flouriſh in a country abounding with mines of gold and ſilver. This in effect is the caſe of Spain: a conſtant influx of theſe metals, raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and alſo of their own: they are reduced to purchaſe from ſtrangers even the neceſſaries of life. What a diſmal condition will they be reduced to when their mines come to be exhauſted!

To illuſtrate this obſervation, which indeed is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of ſilk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flouriſhing manufactures of theſe would be ruinous to it in its preſent ſtate. Let us only ſuppoſe, that Spain itſelf could furniſh all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories; what would be the conſequence? The gold and ſilver produced by that trade would center and circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would riſe to a high price; and every neceſſary of life, not excepting manufactures of ſilk, wool, and iron, would be ſmuggled into Spain, the high price there being ſufficient to overbalance every riſk: Spain would be left without induſtry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flouriſhing ſtate here ſuppoſed when America was diſcovered: its gold and ſilver mines enflamed the diſeaſe; and conſequently was the greateſt misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our ſilver coin to the Eaſt Indies, ſo loudly exclaim'd againſt by ſhallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a moſt ſubſtantial

ſubſtantial benefit: it keeps up the value of ſilver, and conſequently leſſens the value of labour and of goods, which enables us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our ſilver, its quantity in our continent would ſink its value ſo much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithſtanding the great flow of money to the Eaſt Indies, many mines in the Weſt Indies are given up, becauſe they afford not the expence of working; and were the value of ſilver in Europe brought much lower, the whole ſilver mines in the Weſt Indies would be neceſſarily abandoned. Thus our Eaſt-India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, becauſe it is a drain to much of our ſilver, is for that very reaſon profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people ſtruggle againſt the neceſſary connection of cauſes and effects! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in value the exports, will ſoon drain a nation of its money, and put an end to induſtry. Commercial nations for that reaſon ſtruggle hard for a favourable balance of trade; and they fondly imagine that it cannot be too favourable. If advantageous to them, it muſt be diſadvantageous to thoſe they deal with; which proves equally ruinous to both. They foreſee indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to thoſe they deal with; but they have no inclination to foreſee, that ultimately it will prove equally ruinous to themſelves. It appears the intention of Providence, that all nations ſhould benefit by commerce as by ſunſhine; and it is ſo ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the loſers: the latter are immediate ſufferers; but not leſs ſo ultimately are the former. This is one remarkable inſtance, among many, of providential wiſdom in conducting human affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently againſt his will. An ambitious na-

tion, placed advantageouſly for trade, would willingly engroſs all to themſelves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is oppoſed to ſuch avarice, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own deſtruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one ſide; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engroſſing is bad policy; and men are prompted, both by intereſt and duty, to ſecond the plan of Providence, and to preſerve, as near as poſſible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon theſe principles, a wiſe people, having acquired a ſtock of money ſufficient for an extenſive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will reſt ſatisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A diſadvantageous balance may always be prevented by induſtry and frugality: but by what means is a balance too favourable to be guarded againſt? With reſpect to that queſtion, it is not the quantity ſingly of gold and ſilver in a country that raiſes the price of labour and manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not the circulating quantity be regulated by the ſtate, permitting no coinage but what is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the regiſters of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that our current coin may not exceed that of our induſtrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the ſurplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchaſed at home for plate: which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every criſis to be coined for public ſervice. The ſenate of Genoa has wiſely burdened porcelane with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury; but it has not leſs wiſely left gold and ſilver plate free; while we moſt unwiſely have loaded it with a duty.

The accumulating of money in the public treaſury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents ſuperfluity. Lies there

there any good objection againſt that practice, in a trading nation where gold and ſilver flow in with impetuoſity? A great ſum lock'd up by a frugal king, Henry VII. of England for example, leſſens the quantity of money in circulation: profuſion in a ſucceſſor, which was the caſe of Henry VIII. is a ſpur to induſtry, ſimilar to the influx of gold and ſilver from the new world. The canton of Bern, by locking up money in its treaſury, poſſeſſes the miraculous art of reconciling immenſe wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a ſoil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabitants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotiſm is their ruling paſſion: they conſider themſelves as children of the republic; are fond of ſerving their mother; and hold themſelves ſufficiently recompenſed by the privilege of ſerving her; by which means the public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government. They carefully lock up the ſurplus for purchaſing land when a proper opportunity offers; which is a ſhining proof of their diſintereſtedneſs as well as of their wiſdom. By that politic meaſure, much more than by war, the canton of Bern, from a very ſlender origin, is now far ſuperior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found miniſters of ſtate, moderate and diſintereſted like the citizens of Bern! In the hands of a rapacious miniſtry, the greateſt treaſure would not be long-lived: under the management of a Britiſh miniſtry, it would vaniſh in the twinkling of an eye; and do more miſchief by augmenting our money in circulation above what is ſalutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But againſt ſuch a meaſure there lies an objection ſtill more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy: in the hands of an ambitious prince it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing meaſures be not reliſhed, I can diſcover no other means for preſerving our ſtation in foreign markets, but a

bounty on exportation. The ſum would be great: but the preſerving our induſtry and manufactures, and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, are conſpicuous advantages that cannot be purchaſed too dear. At the ſame time, a bounty on exportation would not be an unſupportable load: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of wealth, procured by a balance conſtantly favourable, would make the load abundantly eaſy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that ſalutary meaſure, the Dutch have loſt all their manufactures, a neglect that has greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in with-holding that benefit as much as poſſible from their powerful neighbours: to prevent purchaſing from them, they conſume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extenſive, have been extirpated, partly by their mines of gold and ſilver. Authors aſcribe to the ſame cauſe the decline of their agriculture; but erroneouſly: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of gold and ſilver is favourable to agriculture, by raiſing the price of its productions. It raiſes alſo, it is true, the price of labour; but that additional expence is far from balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever is raiſed out of the ground. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the farmer preſs into a higher rank: but it is the landlord's fault if that evil be not prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, which will always confine the farmer within his own ſphere.

As gold and ſilver are eſſential to commerce, foreign and domeſtic, ſeveral commercial nations, fond of theſe precious metals, have endeavoured moſt abſurdly to bar the exportation by penal laws; forgetting that gold and ſilver will never be exported while the balance of trade is in their favour, and that they muſt neceſſarily be exported when the balance is againſt them. Neither do they conſider, that if a people continue induſtrious, they cannot be

be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, riſing in proportion to its ſcarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important queſtion, Whether a bank be upon the whole beneficial or hurtful to commerce. It is undoubtedly a ſpur to induſtry, like a new influx of money: but then, like ſuch influx, it raiſes the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing theſe two facts in a juſt balance, the reſult ſeems to be, that in a country where money is ſcarce, a bank properly conſtituted is a great bleſſing, as it in effect multiplies the ſpecie, and promotes induſtry and manufactures; but that in a country which poſſeſſes money ſufficient for an extenſive trade, the only bank that will not hurt foreign commerce, is what is erected for ſupplying the merchant with ready money by diſcounting bills. At the ſame time, much caution and circumſpection is neceſſary with reſpect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for diſcounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted in the courſe of commerce; and ought to avoid, as much as poſſible, the being impoſed on by fictitious bills drawn merely in order to procure a loan of money. And with reſpect to a bank purpoſely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far, not only with reſpect to the bank itſelf and to its numerous debtors, but with reſpect to the country in general, by raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing reſult of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and ſcarcity of money, have not eſcaped that penetrating genius, the ſovereign of Pruſſia. Money is not ſo plentiful in his dominions as to make it neceſſary to withdraw a quantity by heaping up treaſure. He indeed always retains in his treaſury ſix or ſeven millions Sterling for anſwering unforeſeen

unforeſeen demands: but being ſenſible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger ſum would be prejudicial to commerce, every farthing ſaved from the neceſſary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank eſtabliſhed for lending money would promote induſtry and manufactures.

SKETCH

SKETCH V.

Origin and Progreſs of ARTS.

SECTION I.

USEFUL ARTS.

SOme uſeful arts muſt be nearly coeval with the human race; for food, cloathing, and habitation, even in their original ſimplicity, require ſome art. Many other arts are of ſuch antiquity as to place the inventers beyond the reach of tradition. Several have gradually crept into exiſtence, without an inventer. The buſy mind however, accuſtomed to a beginning in things, cannot reſt till it find or imagine a beginning to every art. Bacchus is ſaid to have invented wine; and Staphylus, the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are aſcribed by tradition to Scythos, ſon of Jupiter, tho' a weapon all the world over. Spinning is ſo uſeful, that it muſt be honoured with ſome illuſtrious inventer: it was aſcribed by the Egyptians to their goddeſs Iſis; by the Greeks to Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife to their firſt ſovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chineſe to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here by the way a connection

nection of ideas: ſpinning is a female occupation, and it muſt have had a female inventer *.

In the hunter-ſtate, men are wholly occupied in procuring food, cloathing, habitation, and other neceſſaries; and have no time nor zeal for ſtudying conveniencies. The eaſe of the ſhepherd-ſtate affords both time and inclination for uſeful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the ſoil, by gradual improvements in huſbandry, affords plenty with leſs labour than at firſt; and the ſurplus hands are employ'd, firſt, in uſeful arts, and, next, in thoſe of amuſement. Arts accordingly make the quickeſt progreſs in a fertile ſoil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flouriſhed early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves like ſome wild animals, began to think of a more commodious habitation, their firſt houſes were extremely ſimple; witneſs the houſes of the Canadian ſavages, which continue ſo to this day. Their houſes, ſays Charlevoix, are built with leſs art, neatneſs, and ſolidity, than thoſe of the beavers; having neither chimneys nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light, and emitting ſmoke. That hole muſt be ſtopped when it rains or ſnows; and of courſe the fire is put out, that the inhabitants may not be blinded with ſmoke. To have paſſed ſo many ages in that man-

* The Illinois are induſtrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are neat-handed: they ſpin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of Engliſh ſheep. The ſtuffs made of it are dyed black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments ſewed with roe-buck ſinews. After drying theſe ſinews in the ſun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

ner,

ner, without thinking of any improvement, ſhows how greatly men are influenced by cuſtom. The blacks of Jamaica are ſtill more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole in the roof; and accordingly at home they breathe nothing but ſmoke.

Revenge early produced hoſtile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions: not ſo the bow and arrow; and for that reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay how that weapon came to be univerſal. As iron is ſeldom found in a mine like other metals, it was a late diſcovery: at the ſiege of Troy, ſpears, darts, and arrows, were headed with braſs. Meneſtheus, who ſucceeded Theſeus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ſhips to the ſiege of Troy, was reputed the firſt who marſhalled an army in battle-array. Inſtruments of defence are made neceſſary by thoſe of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches, and ſupported with earth, made the firſt fortifications; to which ſucceeded a wall finiſhed with a parapet for ſhooting arrows at beſiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from ſpace to ſpace, no larger than to give paſſage to an arrow. Beſiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering ram was firſt uſed by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the ſiege of Gades. To oppoſe that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing ſtones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a diſtance. A wooden-booth upon wheels, and puſhed cloſe to the wall, ſecured the men who wrought the battering ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by ſurrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Beſiegers were reduced to the neceſſity of inventing engines for throwing ſtones and javelins upon thoſe who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient hiſtories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and baliſta. Theſe engines ſuggeſt-

ed a new invention for defence: inſtead of a circular wall, it was built with ſalient angles, like the teeth of a ſaw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterward improved, by raiſing round towers upon the ſalient angles; and the towers were improved by making them ſquare. The ancients had no occaſion for any form more complete, being ſufficient for defending againſt all the miſſile weapons at that time known. The invention of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The firſt cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The firſt cannon-balls were of ſtone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a ſmaller ſize, by uſing iron for balls inſtead of ſtone; and that deſtructive engine was perfected by making it of caſt metal. To reſiſt its force, baſtions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c.; and military architecture became a ſyſtem, governed by fundamental principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made ſieges horridly bloody; but artillery at the ſame time has been carried to ſuch perfection, and the art of attack ſo improved, that, according to the general opinion, no fortification can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence, is good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite whenever one of them is attacked with ſuperior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote ſuch union, than conſtant experience that fortifications ought not to be relied on.

With reſpect to naval architecture, the firſt veſſels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, puſhed along with long poles in ſhallow water, and drawn by animals in deep water. To theſe ſucceeded trunks of trees cut hollow, termed by the Greeks *monoxyles*. The next were planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fiſh advanced naval architecture. A prow was conſtructed in imitation of the head, a ſtern with

with a moveable helm, in imitation of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at laſt added; which invention was ſo early that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ſhips of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at preſent: they had only a few cannon placed on the upper deck.

When Homer compoſed his poems, at leaſt during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle; they eat the fleſh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals: ſpoons, forks, table-cloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed ſitting, the cuſtom of reclining upon beds being afterward copied from Aſia; and, like other ſavages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had not chimneys, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never: a vaſe was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were ſecured with ropes intricately combined (*a*); and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and ſtockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor ſaddles, nor ſtirrups. Plutarch reports, that Gracchus cauſed ſtones to be erected along the high-ways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horſe; for at that time ſtirrups were unknown, tho' an obvious invention. Linen for ſhirts was not uſed in Rome for many years after the government became deſpotic. Even ſo late as the eighth century, it was not common in Europe.

Thales, one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, about ſix hundred years before Chriſt, invented the following method for meaſuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progreſs of the ſun, till his body and its ſhadow were of the ſame length; and

(*a*) Odyſſey, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's tranſlation.

at that inſtant meaſured the ſhadow of the pyramid, which conſequently gave its height. Amaſis King of Egypt, preſent at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry muſt have been in its very cradle at that time. Anaximander, ſome ages before Chriſt, made the firſt map of the earth, ſo far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, ſpectacles for aſſiſting the ſight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Piſa. So uſeful an invention cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgement is in maturity, and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookiſh men before that invention; many of whom muſt have had their ſight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

As the origin and progreſs of writing make a capital article in the preſent ſketch, they muſt not be overlooked. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But theſe were not confined to Egypt: figures compoſed of painted feathers were uſed in Mexico to expreſs ideas; and by ſuch figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spaniſh invaſion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which ſerved to caſt up accounts. The ſecond ſtep naturally in the progreſs of the art of writing, is, to repreſent each word by a mark, termed a *letter*, which is the Chineſe way of writing: they have about 11,000 of theſe marks or letters in common uſe; and in matters of ſcience, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more eaſy and commodious: inſtead of marks or letters for words, which are infinite, we repreſent by marks or letters, the articulate ſounds that compoſe words: theſe ſounds exceed not thirty in number; and conſequently the ſame number of marks or letters are ſufficient for writing. This was at once to ſtep from hieroglyphics, the

the moſt imperfect mode of writing, to letters repreſenting ſounds, the moſt perfect; for there is no probability that the Chineſe mode was ever practis'd in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is ſo eaſy as to be acquired in childhood; and we are ready for the ſciences as ſoon as the mind is ripe for them: the Chineſe mode, on the contrary, is an unſurmountable obſtruction to knowledge; becauſe it being the work of a lifetime to read with eaſe, no time remains for ſtudying the ſciences. Our caſe was in ſome meaſure the ſame at the reſtoration of learning: it required an age to be familiarized with the Greek and Latin tongues; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge out of their books. The Chineſe ſtand upon a more equal footing with reſpect to arts; for theſe may be acquired by imitation or oral inſtruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters repreſenting ſounds, is of all inventions the moſt important, and the leaſt obvious. The way of writing in China makes ſo naturally the ſecond ſtep in the progreſs of the art, that our good fortune in ſtumbling upon a way ſo much more perfect cannot be ſufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our ſuperiority in literature above the Chineſe. Their way of writing is a fatal obſtruction to ſcience; for it is ſo rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty would not be greater to make them change their language than their letters. Hieroglyphics were a ſort of writing, ſo miſerably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chineſe make a tolerable ſhift with their own letters, however cumberſome to thoſe who know better, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be averred with great certainty, that in China, the ſciences, tho' ſtill in infancy, will for ever continue ſo.

The art of writing was known in Greece when Homer compoſed his two epics; for he gives ſomewhere a hint of it. It was at that

that time probably in its infancy, and uſed only for recording laws, religious precepts, or other ſhort works. Ciphers, invented in Hindoſtan, were brought into France from Arabia about the end of the tenth century.

Huſbandry made a progreſs from Egypt to Greece, and from Afric to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian General, compoſed twenty-eight books upon huſbandry, which were tranſlated into Latin by order of the Roman ſenate. From theſe fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and leſs kindly climates. According to that progreſs, agriculture muſt have been practiſed more early in France than in Britain; and yet the Engliſh at preſent make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in ſoil and climate notwithſtanding. Before huſbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French nobleſſe had deſerted the country, fond of ſociety in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough, and delighting more in hunting and other country-amuſements, found leiſure to practiſe agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now proſecute huſbandry with ſucceſs, tho' their landlords have generally betaken themſelves to a town-life.

When Cæſar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed upon milk and fleſh, and were cloathed with ſkins. Hollinſhed, cotemporary with Eliſabeth of England, deſcribes the rudeneſs of the preceding generation in the arts of life: "There were very few chimneys even in capital "towns: the fire was laid to the wall, and the ſmoke iſſued out "at the roof, or door, or window. The houſes were wattled and "plaiſtered over with clay; and all the furniture and utenſils "were of wood. The people ſlept on ſtraw-pallets, with a log of "wood for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at the marriage of the Ducheſs of Savoy, wore the firſt ſilk ſtockings that were made in France. Queen Eliſabeth, the third year of her reign, received

ved in a preſent a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings; and Dr Howel reports, that ſhe never wore cloth hoſe any more. Before the conqueſt there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. ann. 1176. At that time a ſtone bridge in place of it was projected, but it was not finiſhed till the year 1212. The bridge Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris was firſt of wood. It fell down anno 1499; and as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of ſtone, an Italian cordelier was employ'd, whoſe name was *Joconde*, the ſame upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

Jocondus geminum impoſuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.

The art of making glaſs was imported from France into England ann. 674, for the uſe of monaſteries. Glaſs windows in private houſes were rare even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three clockmakers of Delft in Holland to ſettle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catharine herſelf could not command a ſalad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the ſame time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damaſk roſe, made their firſt appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were firſt known there in the year 1524. The currant-ſhrub was brought from the iſland of Zant ann. 1533; and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were firſt planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563† that knives were firſt made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany ann. 1577. About the year 1580,

† This appears to be a miſtake for Chaucer (who died in 1400) mentions "a Sheffield whittle bore he in his hose."

1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Eliſabeth on public occaſions rode behind her chamberlain. A ſaw-mill was erected near London ann. 1633, but afterward demoliſhed, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the ſcience of politics even in that late age?

People who are ignorant of weights and meaſures fall upon odd ſhifts to ſupply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was their capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any one kill or ſteal the cat that guards the Prince's granary, "he forfeits a milch ewe with her lamb; or as much wheat as will "cover the cat when ſuſpended by the tail, the head touching "the ground." By the ſame lawgiver a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falſity pays as many ſhillings as will cover the woman's poſteriors.

The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made great advances in arts. Their towns, for the moſt part, are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleaſure ſome, and many for buſineſs. The vallies are pleaſant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marſhy grounds near the ſea are drained; and ſalt is made by evaporating the ſtagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberleſs canoes are daily ſeen going with ſalt, and returning with gold duſt or other commodities.

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progreſs of arts is wofully ſlow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadſtone were known in France before the 1180. The mariner's compaſs was exhibited at Venice ann. 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention. John

Goya

Goya of Amalphi was the firſt who, many years afterward, uſed it in navigation; and alſo paſſed for being the inventer. Tho' it was uſed in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not ſo perfect as in Europe. Inſtead of ſuſpending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of ſand, by which every motion of the ſhip diſturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed *querns*, were early uſed for grinding corn; and when corn came to be raiſed in greater quantity, horſe-mills ſucceeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are deſcribed by Vitruvius (*a*). Wind-mills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the ſeventh century; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a houſehold book of an Earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with that King, ſtating an allowance for three mill-horſes, "two to draw in the mill, and one to carry ſtuff to the "mill and fro." Water-mills for corn muſt in England have been of a later date. The ancients had mirror-glaſſes, and employ'd glaſs to imitate cryſtal vaſes and goblets; yet they never thought of uſing it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only people who had the art of making cryſtal glaſs for mirrors. A clock that ſtrikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the cuſtom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night; which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the firſt who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be uſeful for meaſuring time; and Hughens was the firſt who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a ſpiral ſpring for a watch, tho' a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no

(*a*) L. 10. cap. 10.

earlier than the fourteenth century; and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long eſtabliſhed in Greece before ſilk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw ſilk from Perſia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the reign of Juſtinian, brought eggs of the ſilk-worm from Hindoſtan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very ſlow progreſs. To encourage that art in England, the capital puniſhment for murder was remitted if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed *benefit of clergy*. One would imagine that the art muſt have made a very rapid progreſs when ſo greatly favoured: but there is a ſignal proof of the contrary; for ſo ſmall an edition of the Bible as ſix hundred copies, tranſlated into Engliſh in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly ſold off in three years. The people of England muſt have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Eliſabeth's time, when a forged clauſe added to the twentieth article of the Engliſh creed paſſed unnoticed till about forty years ago *.

The diſcoveries of the Portugueſe in the weſt coaſt of Africa, is a remarkable inſtance of the ſlow progreſs of arts. In the begin-

* In the act 13th Eliſabeth anno 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, theſe articles are not engroſſed, but referred to as compriſed in a printed book, intitled, *Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London* 1562. The forged clauſe is, "The church has power to "decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith." In the articles referred to, that clauſe is not to be found, nor the ſlighteſt hint of any authority with reſpect to matters of faith. In the ſame year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and Engliſh, preciſely as in the year 1562. But ſoon after came out ſpurious editions, in which the ſaid clauſe was foiſted into the twentieth article, and continues ſo to this day. A forgery ſo impudent would not paſs at preſent; and its ſucceſs ſhows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

ning

ning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coaſt beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In the 1410 the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal fitted out a fleet for diſcoveries, which proceeded along the coaſt to Cape Bojadore in 26 deg.; but had not courage to double it. In 1418 Triſtan Vaz diſcovered the iſland Porto Santo; and the year after the iſland Madeira was diſcovered. In 1439 a Portugueſe captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portugueſe reached Cape Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446 Nuna Triſtan doubled Cape Verd, lat. 14° 40'. In 1448 Don Gonzallo Vallo took poſſeſſion of the Azores. In the 1449 the iſlands of Cape Verd were diſcovered for Don Henry. In the 1471 Pedro d'Eſcovar diſcovered the iſland St Thomas and Prince's iſland. In 1484 Diego Cam diſcovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486 Bartholemew Diaz, employ'd by John II. of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called *Cabo Tormentoſo*, from the tempeſtuous weather he found in the paſſage.

The exertion of national ſpirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to proſecute other arts. The Romans, by conſtant ſtudy, came to excel in the art of war, which led them naturally to improve upon other arts. Having, in the progreſs of ſociety, acquired ſome degree of taſte and poliſh, a talent for writing broke forth. Nevius compoſed in verſe ſeven books of the Punic war; beſide comedies, replete with bitter raillery againſt the nobility (*a*). Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem (*b*). Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome (*c*). Pacu-

(*a*) Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2.

(*b*) Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.

(*c*) Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. No. 72.

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vius wrote tragedies (*a*). Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius compoſed ſatires, which Cicero eſteems to be ſlight, and void of erudition (*b*). Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piſo Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annaliſts than hiſtorians, confining themſelves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourſe between the two nations was opened. Many of thoſe who made the greateſt figure in the Roman ſtate, commenced authors, Cæſar, Cicero, &c. Sylla compoſed memoirs of his own tranſactions, a work much eſteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

The progreſs of art ſeldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be rouſed out of a torpid ſtate by ſome fortunate change of circumſtances: proſperity contraſted with former abaſement, gives to the mind a ſpring, which is vigorouſly exerted in every new purſuit. The Athenians made but a mean figure under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they were converted into heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being deſtroy'd by the King of Perſia, and the inhabitants made ſlaves; the Athenians, deeply affected with the miſery of their brethren, boldly attacked that king in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In leſs than ten years after, they gained a ſignal victory at Marathon; and under Themiſtocles, made head againſt that prodigious army with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such proſperity produced its uſual effect: arts flouriſhed with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for ſciences as well as for fine arts. The reign of

(*a*) Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. No. 193.

(*b*) De finibus, lib. 1. No. 7.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus Cæſar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war and reſtored peace to Rome with the comforts of ſociety, proved an auſpicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin hiſtorians, poets, and philoſophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taſte and talents. One who makes a figure rouſes emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national ſpirit is every where triumphant: claſſical works are compoſed, and uſeful diſcoveries made in every art and ſcience. This fairly accounts for the following obſervation of Velleius Paterculus (*a*), that eminent men generally appear in the ſame period of time. "One age," ſays he, "produced Eſchylus, Sophocles, and Eu-"ripides, who advanced tragedy to a great height. In another "age the old comedy flouriſhed under Eupolis, Cratinus, and A-"riſtophanes; and the new was invented by Menander, and his "cotemporaries Diphilus and Philemon, whoſe compoſitions are "ſo perfect that they left to poſterity no hope of rivalſhip. The "philoſophic ſages of the Socratic ſchool, appeared all about the "time of Plato and Ariſtotle. And as to rhetoric, few excelled in "that art before Iſocrates, and as few after the ſecond deſcent of "his ſcholars." The hiſtorian applies the ſame obſervation to the Romans, and extends it even to grammarians, painters, ſtatuaries, and ſculptors. With regard to Rome, it is true, that the Roman government under Auguſtus was in effect deſpotic: but deſpotiſm, in that ſingle inſtance, made no obſtruction to literature, it having been the politic of that reign to hide power as much as poſſible. A ſimilar revolution happened in Tuſcany about three centuries ago. That country having been divided into a number of ſmall republics, the people, excited by mutual hatred between ſmall nations in cloſe neighbourhood, became ferocious and bloody,

(*a*) Hiſtoria Romana, lib. 1. in fine.

flaming

flaming with revenge for the ſlighteſt offence. Theſe republics being united under the Great Duke of Tuſcany, enjoy'd the ſweets of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impreſſion by a retroſpect to recent calamities, rouſed the national ſpirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The reſtoration of the royal family in England, which put an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and induſtry made a rapid progreſs among the people, tho' left to themſelves by a weak and fluctuating adminiſtration. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been bleſſed with a ſucceſſion of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and ſciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the firſt Robert, after ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke: but the domineering ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem rendered abortive every attempt. The reſtoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legiſlature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced deſpotiſm into Scotland, which ſunk the genius of the people, and rendered them heartleſs and indolent. Liberty indeed and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union of the two kingdoms; but theſe ſalutary effects were long ſuſpended by mutual enmity, ſuch as commonly ſubſiſts between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore out gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their preſent condition: the national ſpirit was rouſed to emulate and to excel: talents were exerted, hitherto latent; and Scotland at preſent makes a figure in arts and ſciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom *,

Another

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt impriſoned for debt, obtains liberty by a proceſs termed *Ceſſio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to the 1744 there were but twenty-

Another cauſe of activity and animation, is the being engaged in ſome important action of doubtful event, a ſtruggle for liberty, the reſiſting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into ſmall ſtates frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corſicans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national ſpirit: they founded an univerſity for arts and ſciences, a public library, and a public bank. After a long ſtupor during the dark ages of Chriſtianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent ſtates of Italy. The royal ſociety in London, and the academy of ſciences in Paris, were both of them inſtituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and rouſed their activity.

An uſeful art is ſeldom loſt, becauſe it is in conſtant practice. And yet, tho' many uſeful arts were in perfection during the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, it is amazing how ignorant and ſtupid men became, after the Roman empire was ſhattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into ſavages. So ignorant were the Spaniſh Chriſtians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonſus the Great, King of Leon, was reduced to the neceſſity of employing Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldeſt ſon. Even Charlemagne could not ſign his name: nor was he ſingular in that reſpect, being kept in countenance by ſeveral neighbouring princes.

twenty-four proceſſes of that kind; which ſhows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained ſtill ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another; an evident proof of the late rapid progreſs of commerce in Scotland. Every one is rouſed to venture his ſmall ſtock, tho' every one cannot be ſucceſsful.

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As the progreſs of arts and ſciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or ſcience than to remove that ſpur, as where ſome extraordinary genius appears who ſoars above rivalſhip. Mathematics ſeem to be declining in Britain: the great Newton, having ſurpaſſed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the fainteſt hope of equalling him; and what man will enter the liſts who deſpairs of victory?

In early times, the inventers of uſeful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their hiſtory became fabulous by the many incredible exploits that were attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Oſiris, that with a numerous army he traverſed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach men the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beſide the impracticability of ſupporting a numerous army where huſbandry is unknown, no army could enable Oſiris to introduce wheat or wine among ſtupid ſavages who live by hunting and fiſhing, which probably was the caſe, in that early period, of all the nations he viſited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even neceſſary arts want hands, it is common to ſee one perſon exerciſing more arts than one: in ſeveral parts of Scotland, one man ſerves as a phyſician, ſurgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even ſimple arts are ſplit into parts, and each part has an artiſt appropriated to it. In the large towns of ancient Egypt, a phyſician was confined to a ſingle diſeaſe. In mechanic arts that method is excellent. As a hand confined to a ſingle operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations diſtributed among the greateſt number of hands: many hands are employ'd in making a watch; and a ſtill greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations carried on by the ſame man, envigorate his

his mind, becauſe they exerciſe different faculties; and as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he is frequently reduced to ſupply want of ſkill by thought and invention. Conſtant application, on the contrary, to a ſingle operation, confines the mind to a ſingle object, and excludes all thought and invention: in ſuch a train of life, the operator becomes dull and ſtupid, like a beaſt of burden. The difference is viſible in the manners of the people: in a country where, from want of hands, ſeveral occupations muſt be carried on by the ſame perſon, the people are knowing and converſable: in a populous country where manufactures flouriſh, they are ignorant and unſociable. The ſame effect is equally viſible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain claſs of men. It is viſible in Hindoſtan, where the people are divided into *caſts*, which never mix even by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a ſimilar inſtance: the ſame families carry on the trade from generation to generation; and are accordingly ignorant and brutiſh even beyond other Dutch peaſants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a ſeaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach our people the art of fiſhing. They continue fiſhers to this day, marry among themſelves, have little intercourſe with their neighbours, and are dull and ſtupid to a proverb.

SECT. II.

Progreſs of TASTE and of the FINE ARTS.

THE ſenſe by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the *moral ſenſe:* the ſenſe by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed *taſte.* Perfection in the moral ſenſe conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences of right and wrong: perfection in taſte conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences of beauty and deformity; and ſuch perfection is termed *delicacy of taſte* (*a*).

The moral ſenſe is born with us; and ſo is taſte: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among ſavages, the moral ſenſe is faint and obſcure; and taſte ſtill more ſo *. Even in the moſt enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately the various modifications of right and wrong: and to acquire delicacy of taſte, a man muſt grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate ſhopkeeper is a more correct judge of ſtatues, of pictures, and of buildings, than the

* Some Iroquois, after ſeeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the ſtreet De la Houchette, where they found a conſtant ſupply of eatables.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 111. edit. 4.

beſt-

beſt-educated citizen of London (*a*). Thus taſte goes hand in hand with the moral ſenſe in their progreſs toward maturity, and they ripen equally by the ſame ſort of culture. Want, a barren ſoil, cramps the growth of both: ſenſuality, a ſoil too fat, corrupts both: the middle ſtate, equally diſtant from diſpiriting poverty and luxurious ſenſuality, is the ſoil in which both of them flouriſh.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taſte, it is impracticable, in tracing their progreſs, to ſeparate them by accurate limits. I join therefore the progreſs of the fine arts to that of taſte, where the former depends entirely on the latter; and I handle ſeparately the progreſs of the fine arts, where that progreſs is influenced by other circumſtances beſide taſte.

During the infancy of taſte, imagination is ſuffered to roam, as in ſleep, without control. Wonder is the paſſion of ſavages and of ruſtics; to raiſe which, nothing is neceſſary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and inchantment. The earlieſt exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants; witneſs Joannes Magnus, Torfeus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the abſurd romances that delighted the world for ages; which are now fallen into contempt every where. Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the preſent mode. She was the firſt who introduced ſentiments inſtead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men inſtead of bloody heroes. In ſubſtituting diſtreſſes to prodigies, ſhe made a diſcovery that perſons of taſte and feeling are more attached by compaſſion than by wonder.

When gigantic fictions were baniſhed, ſome remaining taſte for the wonderful encouraged gigantic ſimiles, metaphors, and allegories. The Song of Solomon, and many other Aſiatic compoſi-

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 25.

tions, afford examples without end of ſuch figures; which are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate. But a more extenſive view will ſhow this to be a miſtake. In every climate, hot and cold, the figurative ſtyle is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progreſs of writing; a ſtyle that is reliſhed by all at firſt, and continues to delight many till it yield to a taſte poliſhed by long experience. Even in the bitter cold country of Iceland, we are at no loſs for examples. A rainbow is termed *Bridge of the gods:* gold, *Tears of Frya:* the earth is termed *Daughter of Night*, the *veſſel that floats upon Ages;* and herbs and plants are her *hair*, or her *fleece*. Ice is termed *the great bridge:* a ſhip, *horſe of the floods*. Many authors fooliſhly conjecture, that the Hurons and ſome other neighbouring nations, are of Aſiatic extraction; becauſe, like the Aſiatics, their diſcourſe is highly figurative.

The national progreſs of morality is ſlow: the national progreſs of taſte is ſtill ſlower. In proportion as a nation poliſhes, and improves in the arts of peace, taſte ripens. The Chineſe had long enjoy'd a regular ſyſtem of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos; and accordingly literary compoſitions in China were brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like thoſe of Arioſto or the Arabian Tales; but commonly ſelect ſuch as afford a good moral. Their novels, like thoſe of the moſt approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeſeen, unexpected good luck, and perſons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, compoſed in the fourteenth century, ſurpaſſes far any European play in that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progreſs with us; not from ſuperiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chineſe muſt undergo, in learning to read and write their own language. The Chineſe tragedy is indeed languid, and not ſufficiently intereſting; which Voltaire aſcribes to

to want of genius. With better reaſon he might have aſcribed it to the nature of their government, ſo well contrived for preſerving peace and order, as to afford few examples of ſurpriſing events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taſte for ridicule till it emerge out of the ſavage ſtate. Ridicule however is too rough for refined manners: Cicero diſcovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit; but Horace, who figured in the court of Auguſtus, eminent for delicacy of taſte, declares againſt the low roughneſs of that author's raillery (*a*). The high burleſk ſtyle prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeneſs, in which a taſte ſomewhat improved diſcovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France and Butler in England are illuſtrious examples. Dr Swift is our lateſt burleſk writer, and probably will be the laſt.

Emulation among a multitude of ſmall ſtates in Greece, ripened taſte, and promoted the fine arts. Taſte, rouſed by emulation, refines gradually; and is advanced toward perfection by a diligent ſtudy of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece for that delicacy of taſte which ſhone during the reign of Auguſtus, eſpecially in literary compoſitions. But taſte could not long flouriſh in a deſpotic government: ſo low had the Roman taſte fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would pleaſe him but to ſuppreſs Homer, and in his place to inſtall a ſilly Greek poet, named *Antimachus*.

The northern barbarians who deſolated the Roman empire, and revived in ſome meaſure the ſavage ſtate, occaſioned a woful decay of taſte. Pope Gregory VII. anno 1080, preſented to the Emperor Rodolph a crown of gold with the following inſcription:

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 2. part 2.

Petra

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho. Miſerably low muſt taſte have been in that period, when a childiſh play of words was reliſhed as a proper decoration for a ſerious ſolemnity. The famous golden bull of Germany, digeſted anno 1356 by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a maſter-piece of compoſition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the leaſt regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apoſtrophe to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury: it aſſerts, that there muſt be ſeven electors for oppoſing the ſeven mortal ſins: The fall of the angels, terreſtrial paradiſe, Pompey, and Cæſar, are introduced; and it is ſaid, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theological virtues. What can be more puerile! A ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that manner of compoſition. He proves, that a council is neceſſary; becauſe ſeveral councils have extirpated hereſy, and depoſed kings and emperors; becauſe the poets aſſemble councils of the gods; becauſe Moſes writes, that at the creation of man and at confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; becauſe religion has three heads, doctrine, ſacraments, and charity, and that theſe three are termed *a council.* He exhorts the members of the council to ſtrict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horſe. He aſſerts, that the gates of paradiſe and of the council are the ſame; that the holy fathers ſhould ſprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwiſe the Holy Ghoſt would open their mouths like thoſe of Balaam and Caiphas (*a*). James I. of Britain dedicates his declaration againſt Vorſtius to our Saviour, in the following words. " To the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, " the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only Theanthropos,

(*a*) Father Paul's hiſtory of Trent, lib. 1.

" mediator

" mediator and reconciler of mankind; in ſign of thankfulneſs, " his moſt humble and and obliged ſervant, James, by the grace " of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender " of the Faith, doth dedicate and conſecrate this his declaration." Funeral orations were ſome time ago in faſhion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard a funeral oration at the burial of a ſervant-maid. The prieſt, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praiſed her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that ſhe made in perfection. She had but one fault, he ſaid, which was the ſalting her diſhes too much; but that ſhe ſhow'd thereby her prudence, of which ſalt is the ſymbol; a ſtroke of wit that probably was admired by the whole audience. Funeral orations are out of faſhion: the futility of a trite panegyric purchaſed with money, and indecent flattery in circumſtances that require ſincerity and truth, could not long ſtand againſt improved taſte. The yearly feaſt of the aſs that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a moſt ridiculous farce, highly reliſhed in the dark ages of Chriſtianity. See the deſcription of that feaſt in Voltaire's general hiſtory (*a*).

The public amuſements of our forefathers, ſhow the groſſneſs of their taſte after they were reduced to barbariſm by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed *Myſteries*, becauſe they were borrow'd from the ſcriptures, indicate groſs manners as well as infantine taſte; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, theſe Myſteries were ſuch favourites as conſtantly to make a part at every public feſtival. The reformation of religion, which rouſed a ſpirit of inquiry, baniſhed that amuſement, as not only low but indecent. A ſort of plays ſucceeded, termed *Moralities*, leſs indecent indeed, but ſcarce preferable in point of

(*a*) Chap. 78.

compoſition.

compoſition. Theſe Moralities have alſo been long baniſhed, except in Spain, where they ſtill continue in vigour. The devil is commonly the hero: nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce ſupernatural and allegorical beings upon the ſame ſtage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful buſt of the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the ſucceſſion of Spain, after the death of its King Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful ſearch, found that buſt ſerving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our barbarous forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *fool*; who being the butt of their ſilly jokes, flattered their vanity. Such amuſement, not leſs groſs than inhuman, could not ſhow its face even in the dawn of taſte: it was rendered leſs inſipid and leſs inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit; who, under diſguiſe of a fool, was indulged in the moſt ſatirical truths. Upon a further purification of taſte, it was diſcovered, that to draw amuſement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amuſements were invented, ſuch as balls, public ſpectacles, gaming, and ſociety with women. Paraſites, deſcribed by Plautus and Terence, were of ſuch a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were ſo deſpicable as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the gueſts diverted themſelves with daubing their faces, and even kicking and cuffing them; all which was patiently born for the ſake of a plentiful meal. They reſembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at: but the paraſite profeſſion ſhows groſſer manners; it being leſs indelicate to make game of fools, who were men of the loweſt rank, than of paraſites, who were gentlemen by birth, tho' not by behaviour.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs alſo into faſhion.

In

In Italy, fondneſs for dwarfs was carried to extravagance. "Being "at Rome in the year 1566," ſays a French writer, "I was invited by "Cardinal Vitelli to a feaſt, where we were ſerved by no fewer than "thirty-four dwarfs, moſt of them horridly diſtorted." Was not the taſte of that Cardinal horridly diſtorted? The ſame author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs: one named *Great John* was the leaſt ever had been ſeen, if it was not a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no ſort of commerce was known in Europe but what was carried on in markets and fairs. Artificers and manufacturers were diſperſed through the country, and ſo were monaſteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and thoſe who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their eſtates, unleſs when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to quit the place of their birth: the *villain* was annexed to the eſtate, and the *ſlave*, to the perſon, of his lord. Slavery foſtered rough manners; and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taſte, where there was no ſociety. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the Engliſh were the lateſt of taking to a town-life; and their progreſs in taſte and manners was proportionally ſlow. By no audience in the neighbouring kingdoms, would the following paſſage in one of Dryden's plays have been endured. "Jack Sauce! if I ſay it is a tragedy, "it ſhall be a tragedy in ſpite of you: teach your grandam how "to piſs." Theſe plays are full of ſuch coarſe ſtuff, and yet continued favourites down to the Revolution. For a long time after the revival of arts and ſciences, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. Ben Johnſon, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were preferred before Shakeſpeare *; and the ſublime genius of

* Yet Shakeſpeare ſpent his life in writing for ſuch people. Unhappy Shakeſpeare! who, like his countryman Roger Bacon, lived in an age unworthy of him.

Milton made little impreſſion for more than half a century after *Paradiſe Loſt* was publiſhed. We have Dryden's authority that taſte in his time was conſiderably refined:

" They who have beſt ſucceeded on the ſtage,
" Have ſtill conform'd their genius to their age.
" Thus Johnſon did mechanic humour ſhow,
" When men were dull, and converſation low.
" Then comedy was faultleſs, but 'twas coarſe:
" Cobb's Tankard was a jeſt, and Otter's Horſe.
" Fame then was cheap, and the firſt comer ſped:
" And they have kept it ſince by being dead.
" But were they now to write, when critics weigh
" Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
" None of them, no not Johnſon in his height,
" Could paſs without allowing grains for weight.
" If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
" It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd:
" Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
" Our native language more refin'd and free.
" Our ladies and our men now ſpeak more wit
" In converſation, than thoſe poets writ."

The high opinion Dryden had of himſelf and of his age breaks out in every line. Johnſon probably had the ſame opinion of himſelf and of his age: the preſent age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, tho' probably maturity in taſte will be ſtill later. We humble ourſelves before the antients who are far removed from us; but not to ſoar above our immediate predeceſſors, would be a ſad mortification. Many ſcenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, are more

out

out of place. In the *Wild Gallant*, the hero is a wretch conſtantly employ'd, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his miſtreſs, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how abſurd is the ſcene, where he convinces the father of his miſtreſs that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Mar-all is below contempt. The ſcenes in the ſame play, of a bawd inſtructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practiſing her leſſons, are perhaps not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, but ſurely they are leſs innocent.

Portugal was riſing in power and ſplendor when Camoens wrote the Luſiad; and with reſpect to the muſic of verſe it has merit. The author however is far from ſhining in point of taſte. He makes a ſtrange jumble of Heathen and Chriſtian Deities. "Gama," obſerves Voltaire, "in a ſtorm addreſſes his prayers to "Chriſt, but it is Venus who comes to his relief." Voltaire's obſervation is but too well founded. In the firſt book, Jove ſummons a council of the gods, which is deſcribed at great length, for no earthly purpoſe but to ſhow that he favoured the Portugueſe. Bacchus, on the other hand, declares againſt them upon the following account, that he himſelf had gained immortal glory as conqueror of the Indies; which would be eclipſed if the Indies ſhould be conquered a ſecond time by the Portugueſe. A Moor-iſh commander having received Gama with ſmiles, but with hatred in his heart, the poet brings down Bacchus from heaven to confirm the Moor in his wicked purpoſes; which would have been perpetrated, had not Venus interpoſed in Gama's behalf. In the ſecond canto, Bacchus feigns himſelf to be a Chriſtian, in order to deceive the Portugueſe; but Venus implores her father Jupiter to protect them. And yet, after all, I am loth to condemn an early writer for introducing Heathen Deities as actors in a real hiſtory, when in the age of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement of

taſte, we find French writers, Boileau in particular, guilty ſometimes of the ſame abſurdity (*a*).

Tho' taſte in France is more correct than in any other nation, it will bear ſtill ſome purification. The ſcene of a clyſter-pipe in Moliere is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few ſoftenings, before the moſt polite audience in Europe.

In Elements of Criticiſm (*b*) ſeveral cauſes are mentioned that may retard taſte in its progreſs toward maturity, and that ſtill more effectually may give it a retrograde motion when it is in maturity. There are many biaſſes both natural and acquired that tend to miſlead perſons even of the beſt taſte. Of the latter, inſtances are without number. I ſelect one or two to ſhow what influence even the ſlighteſt circumſtances have on taſte. The only tree beautiful at all ſeaſons is the holly: in winter, its deep and ſhining green intitles it to be the queen of the grove: in ſummer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of ſhades ſo pleaſing in that ſeaſon! Mrs D—— is lively and ſociable. She in particular is eminent above moſt of her ſex for a correct taſte, diſplay'd not only within doors but in the garden and in the field. Having become miſtreſs of a great houſe by matrimony, the moſt honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long been ſuffered to obſcure a capital room, ſoon attracted her eye. She took an averſion to a holly, and was not at eaſe till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmleſs. What follows is not altogether ſo excuſable. The Oxonians diſliked the great Newton becauſe he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ againſt him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the preſent time.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 22.

(*b*) Chap. 25.

Refinement

Refinement of taſte in a nation is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accuſtomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings and public gardens, acquire urbanity in private. But it is irkſome to trudge long in a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and therefore, leaving what is ſaid above, like a ſtatue curtail'd of legs and arms, I haſten to the hiſtory of the fine arts.

Uſeful arts paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had beſtow'd every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was ſtudied in objects of ſight; and men of taſte attached themſelves to the fine arts, which multiply'd their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in theſe imitative arts. Statuary, a more ſimple imitation than painting, was ſooner brought to perfection: the ſtatue of Jupiter by Phidias and of Juno by Polycletes, tho' the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and ſhade was known. Apollodorus, and Zeuxis his diſciple, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the firſt who figured in that art. Another cauſe concurred to advance ſtatuary before painting in Greece, viz. a great demand for ſtatues of their gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a ſlower progreſs. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately aſcertained, but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a ſmall building even of the ſame form, require different proportions. Gardening, however, made a ſtill ſlower progreſs than architecture: the palace of Alcinoous, in the ſeventh book of the Odyſſey, is grand and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better than what we term a kitchen-garden.

The ancient churches in this iſland cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vaſt ſpace they occupy,

quantity

quantity of ſtone, and gloomineſs by excluding the ſun, afford a refreſhing coolneſs, and fit them for a hot climate only. It is highly probable that they have been copied from the moſques in the ſouth of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when poſſeſſed by that people, was the centre of arts and ſciences, and led the faſhion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed among all antiquaries, that the firſt writings were in verſe, and that writing in proſe was of a much later date. The firſt Greek who wrote in proſe, was Pherecides Syrus: the firſt Roman, was Appius Cæcus, who compoſed a declamation againſt Pyrrhus. The four books of the Chatah Bhade, which is the ſacred book of Hindoſtan, are compoſed in verſe ſtanzas; and the Arabian compoſitions in proſe followed long after thoſe in verſe. To account for that ſingular fact, many learned pens have been employ'd; but without ſucceſs. By ſome it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events where writing is unknown, hiſtory originally was compoſed in verſe for the ſake of memory. This is not ſatisfactory. To undertake the painful taſk of compoſing in verſe merely for the ſake of memory, would require more foreſight than ever was exerted by a barbarian; not to mention that other means were uſed for preſerving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of ſtones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatiſe on verſe, the only part that remains, he obſerves, "that meaſure or verſe belongs to poetry, becauſe "poetry repreſents the various paſſions with their language; for "which reaſon the ancients, in their ordinary diſcourſe, delivered "their thoughts in verſe rather than in proſe." Longinus thought, that anciently men were more expoſed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he ſeems not to have adverted, that fear and

and grief, inſpired by dangers and misfortunes, are better ſuited to humble proſe than to elevated verſe. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be when one is animated with any vivid paſſion, it is not ſuppoſable that the ancients never wrote nor ſpoke but when excited by paſſion. Their hiſtory, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not compoſed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progreſs of the fine arts, which writers have not ſufficiently attended to, will, if I miſtake not, explain this myſtery. The article is the profeſſion of a bard, which ſprung up in early times before writing was known, and died away gradually as writing turned more and more common. The curioſity of man is great with reſpect to the tranſactions of his own ſpecies; and when ſuch tranſactions are deſcribed in verſe accompanied with muſic, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, ſkill in inſtrumental muſic, and above all a poetical genius, are requiſite to excel in that complicated art. As ſuch talents are rare, the few that poſſeſſed them were highly eſteemed; and hence the profeſſion of a bard, which, beſide natural talents, required more culture and exerciſe than any other known art. Bards were capital perſons at every feſtival and at every ſolemnity. Their ſongs, which, by recording the atchievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, muſt have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Heſiod's authority, that in his time bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard (*a*); and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him deprecating the wrath of Ulyſſes, in the following words.

(*a*) Odyſſey b. 8.

"O

" O king! to mercy be thy ſoul inclin'd,
" And ſpare the poet's ever-gentle kind.
" A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
" For dear to gods and men is ſacred ſong.
" Self-taught I ſing; by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
" The genuine ſeeds of poeſy are ſown;
" And (what the gods beſtow) the lofty lay,
" To gods alone, and godlike worth, we pay.
" Save then the poet, and thyſelf reward;
" 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record."

Cicero reports, that at Roman feſtivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were ſung (*a*). The ſame cuſtom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilaſſo and other authors. Strabo (*b*) gives a very particular account of the Gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus (*c*). " Bardi quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta, he-
" roicis compoſita verſibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis, cantita-
" runt." We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian iſlands have bards, who are greatly admired, becauſe in their ſongs are celebrated the feats of their anceſtors. There are traces of the ſame kind among the Apalachites in North America *. And we ſhall ſee afterward (*d*), that in

(*a*) Tuſculan Queſtions, lib. 4. N° 3. & 4.

(*b*) Lib. 4.

(*c*) Lib. 15. cap. 9.

(*d*) Sketch 7. Progreſs of Manners.

* The firſt ſeal that a young Greenlander catches is made a feaſt for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repaſt, deſcants upon his addreſs in catching the animal: the gueſts admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of

in no other part of the world were bards more honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards were the only hiſtorians before writing was introduced. Tacitus (*a*) ſays, that the ſongs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus Archbiſhop of Upſal acknowledges, that in compiling his hiſtory of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the ſongs of the bards. As theſe ſongs made an illuſtrious figure at every feſtival, they were convey'd in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a conſiderable change in the bard-profeſſion. It is now an agreed point, that no poetry is fit to be accompanied with muſic, but what is ſimple: a complicated thought or deſcription requires the utmoſt attention, and leaves none for the muſic; or if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impreſſion (*b*). The ſimple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind compoſed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progreſs to maturity, is en-

of the meat. Their only muſic is a ſort of drum, which accompanies a ſong in praiſe of ſeal-catching, in praiſe of their anceſtors, or in welcoming the ſun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard-profeſſion. The ſong is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient ſongs are. Take the following example.

"The welcome ſun returns again,
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!
"And brings us weather fine and fair.
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!

The bard ſings the firſt and third lines, accompanying it with his drum and with a ſort of dance. The other lines, termed the burden of the ſong, are ſung by the gueſts.

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.

(*b*) See Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 2. Appendix.

riched with variety of phraſes fit to expreſs the moſt elevated thoughts, men of genius aſpired to the higher ſtrains of poetry, leaving muſic and ſong to the bards: which diſtinguiſhed the profeſſion of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax ſenſe, may be termed a bard; for in that character he ſtrolled from feaſt to feaſt. But he was not a bard in the original ſenſe: he indeed recited his poems to crowded audiences; but his poems are too complex for muſic, and he probably did not ſing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The Trovadores of Provence were bards in the original ſenſe; and made a capital figure in days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times the ſongs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one acceſs to them without a bard; and the profeſſion ſunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue is not common even at preſent; and that circumſtance ſupported long the bard-profeſſion among them, after being forgot among neighbouring nations. Oſſian was the moſt celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece *.

After the foregoing hiſtorical deduction, the reader will perceive without my aſſiſtance why the firſt writings were in verſe. The ſongs of the bards, being univerſal favourites, were certainly the firſt compoſitions that writing was employ'd upon: they would be carefully collected by the moſt ſkilful writers, in order to preſerve

* The multitude are ſtruck with what is new and ſplendid, but ſeldom continue long in a wrong taſte. Voltaire holds it to be a ſtrong teſtimony for the Gieruſaleme Liberata, that even the gondoliers in Venice have it moſtly by heart; and that one no ſooner pronounces a ſtanza than another carries it on. The works of Oſſian have the ſame teſtimony for them: there are not many highlanders, even of the loweſt rank, but can repeat long paſſages out of them.

them

them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progreſs is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compoſitions but what were in verſe, compoſed in verſe their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable tranſaction that was intended to be preſerved in memory by writing. But when ſubjects of writing multiplied and became more and more involved, when people began to reaſon, to teach, and to harangue, they were obliged to deſcend to humble proſe: for to confine a writer or ſpeaker to verſe in handling ſubjects of that nature, would be a burden unſupportable.

The proſe compoſitions of early hiſtorians are all of them dramatic. A writer deſtitute of art is naturally prompted to relate facts as he ſaw them performed: he introduces his perſonages as ſpeaking and conferring; and he himſelf relates what was acted and not ſpoke. The hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament are compoſed in that mode; and ſo addicted to the dramatic are the authors of thoſe books, that they frequently introduce God himſelf into the dialogue. At the ſame time, the ſimplicity of that mode is happily ſuited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expreſſing ſentiments, and every thing that is ſimple and tender (*a*). Take the following inſtance of a low incident becoming by that means not a little intereſting. Naomi having loſt her huſband and her two ſons in foreign parts, and purpoſing to return to the land of her forefathers, ſaid to her two daughters in law, "Go, return "each to her mother's houſe: the LORD deal kindly with you, as "ye have dealt with the dead, and with me. The LORD grant "you that you may find reſt, each of you in the houſe of her huſ-"band. Then ſhe kiſſed them: and they lift up their voice and

(*a*) See Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 22.

" wept. And they ſaid unto her, Surely we will return with thee
" unto thy people. And Naomi ſaid, Turn again, my daugh-
" ters: why will ye go with me? are there yet any more ſons in
" my womb, that they may be your huſbands? Turn again,
" my daughters, go your way, for I am too old to have an huſ-
" band: if I ſhould ſay, I have hope, if I ſhould have a huſband
" alſo to night, and ſhould alſo bear ſons; would ye tarry for
" them till they were grown? would ye ſtay for them from ha-
" ving huſbands? nay, my daughters: for it grieveth me much
" for your ſakes, that the hand of the LORD is gone out againſt
" me. And they lift up their voice, and wept again: and Orpah
" kiſſed her mother in law, but Ruth clave unto her. And ſhe
" ſaid, Behold, thy ſiſter in law is gone back unto her people,
" and unto her gods: return thou after thy ſiſter in law. And
" Ruth ſaid, Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from fol-
" lowing after thee: for whither thou goeſt, I will go; and
" where thou lodgeſt I will lodge: thy people ſhall be my people,
" and thy God my God: where thou dieſt, will I die, and there
" will I be buried: the LORD do ſo to me, and more alſo, if
" ought but death part thee and me. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was
" ſtedfaſtly minded to go with her, then ſhe left ſpeaking unto
" her.

" So they two went until they came to Beth-lehem. And it
" came to paſs when they were come to Beth-lehem, that all the
" city was moved about them, and they ſaid, Is this Naomi?
" And ſhe ſaid unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me Mara:
" for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me. I went out
" full, and the LORD hath brought me home again empty: why
" then call ye me Naomi, ſeeing the LORD hath teſtified againſt
" me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me? So Naomi returned,
" and Ruth the Moabiteſs her daughter in law with her, which

" returned

" returned out of the country of Moab: and they came to Beth-
" lehem in the beginning of barley-harveſt.

" And Naomi had a kinſman of her huſband's, a mighty man
" of wealth, of the family of Elimelech; and his name was Boaz.
" And Ruth the Moabiteſs ſaid unto Naomi, Let me now go to
" the field, and glean ears of corn after him in whoſe ſight I
" ſhall find grace. And ſhe ſaid unto her, Go, my daughter.
" And ſhe went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the
" reapers: and her hap was to light on a part of the field belong-
" ing unto Boaz, who was of the kindred of Elimelech.

" And behold, Boaz came from Beth-lehem, and ſaid unto the
" reapers, The LORD be with you: and they anſwered him, The
" LORD bleſs thee. Then ſaid Boaz unto his ſervant that was
" ſet over the reapers, Whoſe damſel is this? And the ſervant
" that was ſet over the reapers anſwered and ſaid, It is the Moa-
" bitiſh damſel that came back with Naomi, out of the country
" of Moab: and ſhe ſaid, I pray you, let me glean, and gather
" after the reapers, amongſt the ſheaves: ſo ſhe came, and hath
" continued even from the morning until now, that ſhe tarried
" a little in the houſe. Then ſaid Boaz unto Ruth, Heareſt thou
" not, my daughter? Go not to glean in another field, neither
" go from hence, but abide here faſt by my maidens. Let thine
" eyes be on the field that they do reap, and go thou after them:
" have I not charged the young men, that they ſhall not touch
" thee? and when thou art athirſt, go unto the veſſels, and drink
" of that which the young men have drawn. Then ſhe fell on her
" face, and bowed herſelf to the ground, and ſaid unto him,
" Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou ſhouldſt take
" knowledge of me, ſeeing I am a ſtranger? And Boaz anſwer-
" ed and ſaid unto her, It hath fully been ſhewed me all that
" thou haſt done unto thy mother in law ſince the death of thine
" huſband: and how thou haſt left thy father and thy mother,

" and

" and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which
" thou kneweſt not heretofore. The LORD recompenſe thy work,
" and a full reward be given thee of the LORD God of Iſrael, un-
" der whoſe wings thou art come to truſt. Then ſhe ſaid, Let me
" find favour in thy ſight, my lord, for that thou haſt comforted
" me, and for that thou haſt ſpoken friendly unto thine hand-
" maid, though I be not like unto one of thine handmaidens.
" And Boaz ſaid unto her, At meal-time come thou hither, and
" eat of the bread, and dip thy morſel in the vinegar. And ſhe
" ſat beſide the reapers: and he reached her parched corn, and
" ſhe did eat, and was ſufficed, and left. And when ſhe was
" riſen up to glean, Boaz commanded his young men, ſaying,
" Let her glean even among the ſheaves, and reproach her not.
" And let fall alſo ſome of the handfuls of purpoſe for her, and
" leave them, that ſhe may glean them, and rebuke her not. So
" ſhe gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that ſhe had
" gleaned: and it was about an ephah of barley.

" And ſhe took it up, and went into the city: and her mother
" in law ſaw what ſhe had gleaned: and ſhe brought forth, and
" gave to her that ſhe had reſerved, after ſhe was ſufficed. And
" her mother in law ſaid unto her, Where haſt thou gleaned to
" day? and where wroughteſt thou? bleſſed be he that did take
" knowledge of thee. And ſhe ſhewed her mother in law with
" whom ſhe had wrought, and ſaid, The mans name with whom
" I wrought to day, is Boaz. And Naomi ſaid unto her daughter
" in law, Bleſſed be he of the LORD, who hath not left off his
" kindneſs to the living and to the dead. And Naomi ſaid unto
" her, The man is near of kin unto us, one of our next kinſmen.
" And Ruth the Moabiteſs ſaid, He ſaid unto me alſo, Thou
" ſhalt keep faſt by my young men, until they have ended all my
" harveſt. And Naomi ſaid unto Ruth her daughter in law, It is
" good, my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens, that

" they

" they meet thee not in any other field. So ſhe kept faſt by the " maidens of Boaz to glean, unto the end of barley-harveſt, and " of wheat-harveſt; and dwelt with her mother in law.

" Then Naomi her mother in law ſaid unto her, My daughter, " ſhall I not ſeek reſt for thee, that it may be well with thee? " And now is not Boaz of our kindred, with whoſe maidens thou " waſt? Behold he winnoweth barley to night in the threſhing- " floor. Waſh thy ſelf therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy " raiment upon thee, and get thee down to the floor: but make " not thyſelf known unto the man, until he ſhall have done eat- " ing and drinking. And it ſhall be when he lieth down, that " thou ſhalt mark the place where he ſhall lie, and thou ſhalt go " in, and uncover his feet, and lay thee down, and he will tell " thee what thou ſhalt do. And ſhe ſaid unto her, All that thou " ſayſt unto me, I will do.

" And ſhe went down unto the floor, and did according to all " that her mother in law bade her. And when Boaz had eaten " and drunk, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at " the end of the heap of corn: and ſhe came ſoftly, and unco- " vered his feet, and laid her down.

" And it came to paſs at midnight, that the man was afraid, " and turned himſelf: and behold, a woman lay at his feet. And " he ſaid, Who art thou? And ſhe anſwered, I am Ruth thine " handmaid: ſpread therefore thy ſkirt over thine handmaid, for " thou art a near kinſman. And he ſaid, Bleſſed be thou of the " LORD, my daughter: for thou haſt ſhewed more kindneſs in " the latter end, than at the beginning, inaſmuch as thou fol- " lowedſt not young men, whether poor or rich. And now, my " daughter, fear not, I will do to thee all that thou requireſt: for " all the city of my people doth know, that thou art a virtuous " woman. And now it is true, that I am thy near kinſman: how- " beit there is a kinſman nearer than I. Tarry this night, and it

" ſhall

" ſhall be in the morning, that if he will perform unto thee the " part of a kinſman, well, let him do the kinſmans part; but if " he will not do the part of a kinſman to thee, then will I do the " part of a kinſman to thee, as the LORD liveth: lie down until " the morning.

" And ſhe lay at his feet until the morning: and ſhe roſe up " before one could know another. And he ſaid, Let it not be " known that a woman came into the floor. Alſo he ſaid, Bring " the vail that thou haſt upon thee, and hold it. And when ſhe " held it, he meaſured ſix meaſures of barley, and laid it on her: " and ſhe went into the city. And when ſhe came to her mo- " ther in law, ſhe ſaid, Who art thou, my daughter? And ſhe " told her all that the man had done to her. And ſhe ſaid, Theſe " ſix meaſures of barley gave he me; for he ſaid to me, Go not " empty unto thy mother in law. Then ſaid ſhe, Sit ſtill, my " daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the " man will not be in reſt, until he have finiſhed the thing this " day.

" Then went Boaz up to the gate, and ſat him down there: " and behold, the kinſman of whom Boaz ſpake, came by; unto " whom he ſaid, Ho, ſuch a one, turn aſide, ſit down here. " And he turned aſide and ſat down. And he took ten men of " the elders of the city, and ſaid, Sit ye down here. And they " ſat down. And he ſaid unto the kinſman, Naomi that is come " again out of the country of Moab, ſelleth a parcel of land, " which was our brother Elimelech's. And I thought to adver- " tiſe thee, ſaying, Buy it before the inhabitants, and before the " elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it; but if " thou will not redeem it, then tell me, that I may know: for " there is none to redeem it beſides thee, and I am after thee. And " he ſaid, I will redeem it. Then ſaid Boaz, What day thou " buyeſt the field of the hand of Naomi, thou muſt buy it alſo of

" Ruth

" Ruth the Moabiteſs, the wife of the dead, to raiſe up the name " of the dead upon his inheritance.

" And the kinſman ſaid, I cannot redeem it for my ſelf, leſt I mar " mine own inheritance: redeem thou my right to thy ſelf, for I " cannot redeem it. Now this was the manner in former time in " Iſrael, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to " confirm all things: a man plucked off his ſhoe, and gave it to " his neighbour: and this was a teſtimony in Iſrael. Therefore " the kinſman ſaid unto Boaz, Buy it for thee: ſo he drew off his " ſhoe.

" And Boaz ſaid unto the elders, and unto all the people, Ye are " witneſſes this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's, " and all that was Chilion's, and Mahlon's, of the hand of Naomi. " Moreover, Ruth the Moabiteſs, the wife of Mahlon, have I " purchaſed to be my wife, to raiſe up the name of the dead upon " his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from " among his brethren, and from the gate of his place: ye are wit- " neſſes this day. And all the people that were in the gate, and " the elders ſaid, We are witneſſes: The LORD make the woman " that is come into thine houſe, like Rachel, and like Leah, " which two did build the houſe of Iſrael: and do thou worthily " in Ephratah, and be famous in Beth-lehem. And let thy houſe " be like the houſe of Pharez (whom Tamar bare unto Judah) of " the ſeed which the LORD ſhall give thee of this young wo- " man.

" So Boaz took Ruth, and ſhe was his wife: and when he went " in unto her, the LORD gave her conception, and ſhe bare a " ſon. And the women ſaid unto Naomi, Bleſſed be the LORD, " which hath not left thee this day without a kinſman, that his " name may be famous in Iſrael. And he ſhall be unto thee a re- " ſtorer of thy life, and a nouriſher of thine old age: for thy " daughter in law which loveth thee, which is better to thee than

" ſeven ſons, hath born him. And Naomi took the child, and " laid it in her boſom, and became nurſe unto it (*a*)."

The dramatic mode is far from pleaſing ſo much in relating bare hiſtorical facts. Take the following example.

" Wherefore Nathan ſpake unto Bath-ſheba the mother of So- " lomon, ſaying, Haſt thou not heard that Adonijah the ſon of " Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not? Now " therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counſel, that thou " mayſt ſave thine own life, and the life of thy ſon Solomon. " Go, and get thee in unto king David, and ſay unto him, Didſt " not thou, my lord O king, ſwear unto thine handmaid, ſay- " ing, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon ſhall reign after me, and he " ſhall ſit upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? Be- " hold, while thou yet talkeſt there with the king, I will alſo come " in after thee, and confirm thy words.

" And Bath-ſheba went in unto the king, into the chamber: " and the king was very old; and Abiſhag the Shunammite mi- " niſtered unto the king. And Bath-ſheba bowed, and did obei- " ſance unto the king: and the king ſaid, What wouldſt thou? " And ſhe ſaid unto him, My lord, thou ſwareſt by the LORD " thy God unto thine handmaid, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon thy " ſon ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne: and " now behold, Adonijah reigneth; and now my lord the king, " thou knoweſt it not. And he hath ſlain oxen, and fat cattle, " and ſheep in abundance, and hath called all the ſons of the " king, and Abiathar the prieſt, and Joab the captain of the hoſt: " but Solomon thy ſervant hath he not called. And thou, my " lord O king, the eyes of all Iſrael are upon thee, that thou " ſhouldſt tell them who ſhall ſit on the throne of my lord the

(*a*) Ruth, i. 8. — iv. 16.

" king

" king after him. Otherwiſe it ſhall come to paſs, when my lord
" the king ſhall ſleep with his fathers, that I and my ſon Solo-
" mon ſhall be counted offenders.

" And lo, while ſhe yet talked with the king, Nathan the pro-
" phet alſo came in. And they told the king, ſaying, Behold,
" Nathan the prophet. And when he was come in before the
" king, he bowed himſelf before the king with his face to the
" ground. And Nathan ſaid, My lord O king, haſt thou ſaid,
" Adonijah ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne?
" For he is gone down this day, and hath ſlain oxen, and fat
" cattle, and ſheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's
" ſons, and the captains of the hoſt, and Abiathar the prieſt; and
" behold, they eat and drink before him, and ſay, God ſave
" king Adonijah. But me, even me thy ſervant, and Zadok the
" prieſt, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and thy ſervant Solo-
" mon hath he not called. Is this thing done by my lord the king,
" and thou haſt not ſhewed it unto thy ſervant, who ſhould ſit on
" the throne of my lord the king after him?

" Then king David anſwered and ſaid, Call me Bath-ſheba:
" and ſhe came into the king's preſence, and ſtood before the
" king. And the king ſware, and ſaid, As the LORD liveth, that
" hath redeemed my ſoul out of all diſtreſs, even as I ſware un-
" to thee by the LORD God of Iſrael, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon
" thy ſon ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne
" in my ſtead; even ſo will I certainly do this day. Then Bath-
" ſheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did reverence to
" the king, and ſaid, Let my lord king David live for ever.

" And king David ſaid, Call me Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan
" the prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada. And they came
" before the king. The king alſo ſaid unto them, Take with you
" the ſervants of your lord, and cauſe Solomon my ſon to ride
" upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon. And

" let Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the prophet, anoint him there
" king over Iſrael: and blow ye with the trumpet, and ſay, God
" ſave king Solomon. Then ye ſhall come up after him, that he
" may come and ſit upon my throne; for he ſhall be king in my
" ſtead: and I have appointed him to be ruler over Iſrael, and o-
" ver Judah. And Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada anſwered the
" king, and ſaid, Amen: the LORD God of my lord the king ſay
" ſo too. As the LORD hath been with my lord the king, even ſo
" be he with Solomon, and make his throne greater then the throne
" of my lord king David. So Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the
" prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites
" and the Pelethites, went down, and cauſed Solomon to ride up-
" on king David's mule, and brought him to Gihon. And Zadok
" the prieſt took an horn of oyl out of the tabernacle, and anoint-
" ed Solomon: and they blew the trumpet, and all the people
" ſaid, God ſave king Solomon. And all the people came up af-
" ter him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoyced with
" great joy, ſo that the earth rent with the ſound of them.

" And Adonijah, and all the gueſts that were with him, heard
" it, as they had made an end of eating: and when Joab heard
" the ſound of the trumpet, he ſaid, Wherefore is this noiſe of
" the city, being in an uprore? And while he yet ſpake, behold,
" Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar the prieſt came, and Adonijah
" ſaid unto him, Come in, for thou art a valiant man, and
" bringeſt good tidings. And Jonathan anſwered and ſaid to A-
" donijah, Verily our lord king David hath made Solomon king.
" And the king has ſent with him Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan
" the prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and the Chere-
" thites, and the Pelethites, and they have cauſed him to ride up-
" on the king's mule. And Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the
" prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come
" up from thence rejoycing, ſo that the city rang again: this is
" the

" the noiſe that ye have heard. And alſo Solomon ſitteth on the " throne of the kingdom. And moreover the king's ſervants " came to bleſs our lord king David, ſaying, God make the name " of Solomon better than thy name, and make his throne great- " er than thy throne: and the king bowed himſelf upon the bed. " And alſo thus ſaid the king, Bleſſed be the LORD God of Iſrael, " which hath given one to ſit on my throne this day, mine eyes " even ſeeing it. And all the gueſts that were with Adonijah " were afraid, and roſe up, and went every man his way (*a*)".

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions; not however by the ſame perſon, but by different perſons who have occaſion in the courſe of the ſtory to ſay the ſame things; which is natural in the dramatic mode, where things are repreſented preciſely as they were tranſacted. In that view, Homer's repetitions are a beauty, not a blemiſh; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative.

But the dramatic mode of compoſition, however pleaſing, is tedious and intolerable in a long hiſtory. In the progreſs of ſociety new appetites and new paſſions ariſe; men come to be involved with each other in various connections; incidents and events multiply, and hiſtory becomes intricate by an endleſs variety of circumſtances. Dialogue accordingly is more ſparingly uſed, and in hiſtory plain narration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raiſed upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great maſter in that mode of compoſition. Nothing can be more perfect in that reſpect than the Iliad. The Odyſſey is far inferior; and to guard myſelf againſt the cenſure of the blind admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my

(*a*) 1 Kings, i. 11.—49.

aid

aid a celebrated critic, whoſe ſuperior taſte and judgement never has been diſputed. " The Odyſſey," ſays Longinus, " ſhows " how natural it is for a writer of a great genius, in his decli- " ning age, to ſink down to fabulous narration; for that Homer " compoſed the Odyſſey after the Iliad is evident from many " circumſtances. As the Iliad was compoſed while his genius " was in its greateſt vigour, the ſtructure of that work is drama- " tic and full of action; the Odyſſey, on the contrary, is moſtly em- " ploy'd in narration, proceeding from the coldneſs of old age. " In that later compoſition, Homer may be compared to the ſet- " ting ſun, which has ſtill the ſame greatneſs, but not the ſame " ardor or force. We ſee not in the Odyſſey that ſublime of the " Iliad which conſtantly proceeds in the ſame animated tone, " that ſtrong tide of motions and paſſions flowing ſucceſſively like " waves in a ſtorm. But Homer, like the ocean, is great, even " when he ebbs, and loſes himſelf in narration and incredible " fictions; witneſs his deſcription of tempeſts, the adventures of " Ulyſſes with Polyphemus the Cyclops, and many others *."

The narrative mode came in time ſo to prevail, that in a long chain of hiſtory, the writer commonly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of that kind appear to have very little judgement in diſtinguiſhing capital facts from minute circumſtances, ſuch as can be ſupply'd by the reader without being mentioned. The hiſtory of the Trojan war by Dares Phrygius is a curious inſtance of that cold and creeping manner of compoſition. Take the following paſſage. Hercules having made a deſcent upon Troy, ſlew King

* The *Pilgrim's Progreſs* and *Robinſon Cruſoe*, great favourites of the vulgar, are compoſed in a ſtyle enlivened like that of Homer by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative; and upon that account chiefly have been tranſlated into ſeveral European languages.

Laomedon,

Laomedon, and made a preſent of Heſione, the King's daughter, to Telamon his companion. Priamus, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father Laomedon, ſent Antenor to demand his ſiſter Heſione. Our author proceeds in the following manner. "Antenor, as commanded by Priamus, took "ſhipping, and ſailed to Magneſia, where Peleus reſided. Peleus "entertained him hoſpitably three days, and the fourth day "demanded whence he came. Antenor ſaid, that he was "ordered by Priamus to demand from the Greeks, that they "ſhould reſtore Heſione. When Peleus heard this he was angry, "becauſe it concerned his family, Telamon being his brother; "and ordered the ambaſſador to depart. Antenor, without de-"lay, retired to his ſhip, and ſailed to Salamis, where Telamon "reſided, and demanded of him, that he ſhould reſtore Heſione "to her brother Priamus; as it was unjuſt to detain ſo long in "ſervitude a young woman of royal birth. Telamon anſwered, "that he had done nothing to Priamus; and that he would not "reſtore what he had received as a reward for his valour; and "ordered Antenor to leave the iſland. Antenor went to Achaia; "and ſailing from thence to Caſtor and Pollux, demanded of "them to ſatisfy Priamus, by reſtoring to him his ſiſter Heſione. "Caſtor and Pollux denied that they had done any injury to Pri-"amus, but that Laomedon had firſt injured them; ordering "Antenor to depart. From thence he ſailed to Neſtor in Pylus, "telling him the cauſe of his coming; which when Neſtor heard, "he begun to exclaim, how Antenor durſt ſet his foot in Greece, "ſeeing the Greeks were firſt injured by the Phrygians. When "Antenor found that he had obtained nothing, and that Pri-"amus was contumelioufly treated, he went on ſhipboard, and "returned home." The Roman hiſtories before the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Cato, Fabius, Pictor, and Piſo, confined

fined themſelves to naked facts (*a*). In the *Auguſtæ Hiſtoriæ ſcriptores* we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts, commonly of very little moment, concerning a degenerate people, without a ſingle incident that can rouſe the imagination, or exerciſe the judgement. The monkiſh hiſtories are all of them compoſed in the ſame manner *.

The dry narrative manner being very little intereſting or agreeable, a taſte for embelliſhment prompted ſome writers to be copious and verboſe. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century compoſed in Latin a hiſtory of Denmark, ſurpriſingly pure at that early period, is extremely verboſe and full of tautologies. Such a ſtyle, at any rate unpleaſant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a ſtock of phraſes for expreſſing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into hiſtory. Take the following example out of an endleſs number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men in character of ambaſſadors, to viſit her, *and to anſwer certain queſtions contained in curious and exquiſite inſtructions for taking a ſurvey of her perſon, complexion, &c.* as expreſſed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the inſtructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen; which one would think could not re-

* Euripides, in his Phœnicians, introduces Oedipus, under ſentence of baniſhment and blind, calling for his ſtaff, his daughter Antigone putting it in his hand, and directing every ſtep, to keep him from ſtumbling. Such minute circumſtances, like what are frequent in Richardſon's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himſelf to be a ſpectator (*b*): but whether that advantage be not more than overbalanced by the languor of a creeping narrative, may be juſtly doubted.

(*a*) Cicero *De Oratore, lib.* 2. No 5.

(*b*) See Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 2. part 1. ſect. 7.

quire

quire many words; yet behold the inſtruction itſelf. "The "King's ſaid ſervants ſhall alſo, at their comyng to the parties of "Spayne, diligently enquere for ſome conynge paynter having "good experience in making and paynting of viſages and por-"tretures, and ſuche oon they ſhall take with them to the place "where the ſaid Quunis make their abode, to the intent that the "ſaid paynter maye draw a picture of the viſage and ſemblance "of the ſaid young Quine, as like unto her as it can or may be "conveniently doon, which picture and image they ſhall ſubſtan-"tially note, and marke in every pounte and circumſtance, ſoo that "it agree in ſimilitude and likeneſſe as near as it may poſſible to "the veray viſage, countenance, and ſemblance of the ſaid Quine; "and in caſe they may perceyve that the paynter, at the furſt "or ſecond making thereof, hath not made the ſame perfaite to "her ſimilytude and likeneſſe, or that he hath omitted any fe-"ture or circumſtance, either in colours, or other proporcions "of the ſaid viſage, then they ſhall cauſe the ſame paynter, or "ſome other the moſt conyng paynter that they can gete, ſoo "oftentimes to renewe and reforme the ſame picture, till it be "made perfaite, and agreeable in every behalfe, with the very "image and viſage of the ſaid Quine *." After this ſpecimen ſo much to his Lordſhip's taſte, one will not be ſurpriſed at the flat-

* The following paſſage, copied from an Edinburgh news-paper, may almoſt rival this eloquent piece. After obſerving that the froſt was intenſe, which, ſays the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus. "We would therefore recommend it to ſhopkeepers, and thoſe whoſe houſes "are cloſe upon the ſtreets or lanes, to ſcatter aſhes oppoſite to their doors, as it "may be a means of preventing paſſengers from falling, which they are in great "danger of doing at preſent, from the ſlippineſs of the ſtreets, where that practice "is not followed."

neſs of the hiſtorical ſtyle during that period. By that flatneſs of ſtyle his Lordſhip's hiſtory of Henry VII. ſinks below the gravity and dignity of hiſtory; particularly in his ſimiles, metaphors, and alluſions, not leſs diſtant than flat. Of Perkin Warbeck and his followers he ſays, "that they were now like ſand without "lime, ill bound together." Again, "But Perkin, adviſed to "keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green "wood, alive with continual blowing, ſailed again into Ireland." Again, "As in the tides of people once up, there want not common-"ly ſtirring winds to make them more rough, ſo this people did "light upon two ringleaders or captains." Again, ſpeaking of the Corniſh inſurgents, and of the cauſes that inflamed them, "But now theſe bubbles by much ſtirring began to meet, as they "uſed to do on the top of water." Again, ſpeaking of Perkin, "And as it fareth with ſmoak, that never loſeth itſelf till it be at "the higheſt, he did now before his end raiſe his ſtile, intytling "himſelf no more Richard Duke of York, but Richard the "Fourth, King of England." He deſcends ſometimes ſo low as to play upon words; witneſs the following ſpeech made for Perkin to the King of Scotland. "High and mighty King! your Grace "may be pleaſed benignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy "of a young man that by right ought to hold in his hand the "ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is made himſelf a ball, toſſed "from miſery to miſery, and from place to place." The follow-ing is a ſtrangely forc'd alluſion. Talking of Margaret Ducheſs of Burgundy, who had patronized Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ſays, "It is the ſtrangeſt thing in the world, that "the Lady Margaret ſhould now, when other women give over "child-bearing, bring furth two ſuch monſters, being, at birth, "not of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas "other natural mothers bring furth children weak, and not able "to help themſelves, ſhe bringeth furth tall ſtriplings, able, ſoon

"after

" after their coming into the world, to bid battle to mighty " kings." I ſhould not have given ſo many inſtances of puerilities in compoſition, were they not the performance of a great philoſopher. Low indeed muſt have been the taſte of that age when it infected its greateſt genius.

The perfection of hiſtorical compoſition, which writers at laſt attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of intereſting facts connected with their motives and conſequences. A hiſtory of that kind is truly a chain of cauſes and effects. The hiſtory of Thucydides, and ſtill more that of Tacitus, are ſhining inſtances of that mode.

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in ſtrength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expreſſion. Inſtances are without number in the Old Teſtament. " And they ſay, How doth God know, and is " there knowledge in the Moſt High?" Again, " Thus ſhalt thou " ſay to the houſe of Jacob, and tell to the children of Iſrael." Again, " I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adverſary " unto thine adverſaries." Again, " To know wiſdom and in- " ſtruction, to perceive the words of underſtanding, to receive the " inſtruction of wiſdom." " She layeth her hands to the ſpindle, " and her hands hold the diſtaff." " Put away from thee a fro- " ward mouth, and perverſe lips put far from thee. Let thine " eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look ſtraight before " thee."

Eloquence was of a later date than the art of literary compoſition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models for ſtudying the former. Cicero's oration for Roſcius is compoſed in a ſtyle diffuſe and highly ornamented; which, ſays Plutarch, was univerſally approved, becauſe at that time the ſtyle of Aſia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leiſurely ſtudied Greek au-

thors, was taught to prune off ſuperfluities, and to purify his ſtyle, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native tongue a ſweetneſs, a grace, a majeſty, that ſurpriſed the world, and even the Romans themſelves. Cicero obſerves with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæſar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the moſt complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profeſſion in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular aſſembly, makes ſome figure in a court of law compoſed of many judges; very little where there is but a ſingle judge, and none at all in a deſpotic government. Eloquence flouriſhed in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes ſome figure at preſent in a Britiſh houſe of Commons.

The Greek ſtage has been juſtly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalſhip. If the Greek ſtage was ſo early brought to maturity, it is a phenomenon not a little ſingular in the progreſs of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progreſs from Theſpes to Sophocles and Euripides, whoſe compoſitions are indeed the moſt complete that ever were exhibited in Greece: but whether they be really ſuch maſterpieces as is generally thought, will admit ſome doubt. The ſubject is curious: and I hope the candid reader will give attention to what follows.

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was ſo ſpacious as to contain ſeveral thouſands without crowding. A braſs pipe was invented to ſtrengthen the voice; but that invention ſuppreſſed the melody of pronunciation, by confining the voice to a harſh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleaſant circumſtance: every actor wore a maſk; for what end or purpoſe, is not explained. It may be true, that the expreſſions of the countenance could not be diſtinctly ſeen by thoſe who occupied the back

back rows; and a maſk poſſibly was thought neceſſary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cauſe, let us only figure an actor with a maſk and a pipe. He may repreſent tolerably a ſimple incident or plain thought, ſuch as are the materials of an Italian opera; but the voice, countenance, and geſtures, are indiſpenſable in expreſſing refined ſentiments, and the more delicate tones of paſſion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men? Greek tragedies are more active than ſentimental: they contain many ſenſible reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general; but no ſentiments except what are plain and obvious. The ſubjects are of the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as give riſe to the paſſions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their moſt ordinary exertions: no intricate nor delicate ſituation to occaſion any ſingular emotion; no gradual ſwelling and ſubſiding of paſſion; and ſeldom any conflict between different paſſions. I would not however be underſtood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are indeed wonderful productions of genius, conſidering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughneſs and barbarity into a taſte for literature. The compoſitions of Eſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, muſt have been highly reliſhed among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect. We judge by compariſon, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the ſame time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the paſſions repreſented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, joined with exquiſite muſic. That theſe particulars were carried to the greateſt height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant ſums beſtow'd on them: the exhibiting a ſingle tragedy was more expenſive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any ſingle campaign.

One

One would imagine, however, that theſe compoſitions were too ſimple to enchant for ever; as variety in action, ſentiment, and paſſion is requiſite, without which the ſtage will not continue long a favourite entertainment: and yet we find not a ſingle improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter of wonder at firſt view. But the wonder vaniſhes upon conſidering, that the manner of performance prevented abſolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of paſſion and refined ſentiments would have made no figure on the Grecian ſtage. Imagine the diſcording ſcene between Brutus and Caſſius in Julius Cæſar to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the Moor of Venice: how ſlight would be their effect, when pronounced in a maſk, and through a pipe? The workings of nature upon the countenance, and the flections of voice expreſſive of various feelings, ſo deeply affecting in modern repreſentation, would have been entirely loſt. If a great genius had ariſen with talents for compoſing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice muſt have been erected of a moderate ſize: new actors muſt have been trained to act with a bare face, and to pronounce in their own voice. And after all there remained a greater miracle ſtill to be performed, viz. a total reformation of taſte in the people of Athens. In one word, the ſimplicity of the Greek tragedy was ſuited to the manner of acting; and that manner excluded all improvements.

From theſe premiſſes an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taſte and feeling were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greateſt figure. Muſic indeed may be ſucceſsfully employ'd in a ſentimental tragedy; but pomp and ſplendor of performance avail nothing. A ſpectator deeply affected is regardleſs of decoration. I appeal to the reproving ſcene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taſte beſtow the ſlighteſt attention on the beauty of the ſcenery? It would

would however be raſh to involve in the ſame cenſure every Athenian. Do not pantomime-ſhow, rope-dancing, and other ſuch faſhionable ſpectacles, draw multitudes from the deepeſt tragedies? And yet among us there are perſons of taſte not a few, who deſpiſe ſuch ſpectacles as fit only for the mob, perſons who never bow'd the knee to Baal.' And if there were ſuch perſons in Athens, of which we have no reaſon to doubt, it proves the ſuperiority of their taſte: they had no example of more refined compoſitions than were exhibited on their ſtage; we have many.

With reſpect to comedy, it does not appear that the Greek comedy ſurpaſſed the tragedy in its progreſs toward perfection. Horace mentions three ſtages of Greek comedy. The firſt was well ſuited to the rough and coarſe manners of the Greeks, when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes wrote. Theſe authors were not aſhamed to repreſent on the ſtage real perſons, not even diſguiſing their names; of which we have a ſtriking inſtance in a comedy of Ariſtophanes called *The Clouds*, where Socrates is introduced, and moſt contemptuouſly treated. This ſort of comedy, ſparing neither gods nor men, was reſtrained by the magiſtrates of Athens, ſo far as to prohibit perſons to be named on the ſtage. This led writers to do what is done at preſent: the characters and manners of known perſons were painted ſo much to the life, that there could be no miſtake; and the ſatire was indeed heightened by this regulation; as it was an additional pleaſure to find out the names that were meant in the repreſentation. This was termed the *middle comedy*. But as there ſtill remained too great ſcope for obloquy and licentiouſneſs, a law was made prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the ſtage. This law happily baniſhed ſatire againſt individuals, and confined it to manners and cuſtoms in general. Obedient to this law are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flouriſhed about 300 years before the Chriſtian era. And this is termed the *third ſtage*

of

of Greek comedy. The comedies of Ariſtophanes, which ſtill remain, err not leſs againſt taſte than againſt decency. But we have good ground to believe, that the Greek comedy was conſiderably refined by Menander and his cotemporaries; and we muſt rely upon collateral evidence, becauſe we have very few remains of their works. Their works however were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius; and it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed that his copies did not fall much ſhort of the originals, at leaſt in matters that can be faithfully copied; and he ſhows very little art, either in his compoſitions, or in the conduct of his pieces. With reſpect to the former, his plots are wondrous ſimple, very little varied, and very little intereſting. The ſubject of almoſt every piece is a young man in love with a muſic-girl, deſiring to purchaſe her from the procurer, and employing a favourite ſlave to cheat his father out of the price; and the different ways of accompliſhing the cheat, is all the variety we find. In ſome few of his comedies the ſtory riſes to a higher tone, the muſic-girl being diſcovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obſtruction to a marriage between her and her lover. In the conduct of his pieces there is a miſerable defect of art. Inſtead of unfolding the ſubject in the progreſs of the action, as is done by Terence, and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces a perſon for no other end but to explain the ſtory to the audience. In one of his comedies, a houſehold-god is ſo obliging as not only to unfold the ſubject, but to relate beforehand every particular that is to be repreſented, not excepting the cataſtrophe. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleaſant to have our curioſity raiſed about what will happen next? In the courſe of the action, perſons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themſelves on the open ſtreet. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain ſoliloquies

liloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been ſo artleſs in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It is obſerved in Elements of Criticiſm (*a*), that when a language begins to receive ſome poliſh, and the meaning of words is tolerably aſcertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be reliſhed. At that period of the Roman language Plautus wrote. His wit conſiſts almoſt entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the ſame ſound, with different meanings, and words of different ſounds that have the ſame meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, ſuch falſe wit may be juſtly aſcribed to Plautus himſelf, not to the Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that baſtard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witneſs the joke in the Odyſſey, where Ulyſſes impoſed upon Polyphemus by calling himſelf Houtis or No-man. Nor ſeems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his Cyclops repeats the ſame ſilly joke. The Roman genius ſoon purged their compoſitions of ſuch infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is ſcarce a veſtige of them. The dialogue beſide of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word but to the purpoſe: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digreſſions very little to the purpoſe. In a word, conſidering the ſlow progreſs of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progreſs as perhaps ever happened in any country. Ariſtotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial ſubjects provoking laughter. The comedies of

(*a*) Chap. 13.

Plautus correſpond accurately to that definition: thoſe of Terence riſe to a higher tone.

Beſide the diſadvantages of the maſk and pipe mentioned above, there are two cauſes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The firſt is the ſlow progreſs of ſociety among theſe nations, occaſioned by debarring the female ſex from it. Without a mixture of the two ſexes ſociety can never arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. That mixture brings to light every latent talent and every variety of character. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus wrote when ſociety between the ſexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are miſers, lovers, paraſites, procurers; but the individuals of each claſs are caſt in the ſame mould. In the Rudens of Plautus, it is true, a miſer is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treaſure, every trifling incident being converted by him into a cauſe of ſuſpicion; but he is ſtill the ſame miſer that is painted by others, without any ſhade or ſingularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deſerves to be excepted: his heroes have all courage; but courage in each is clearly of a different kind. Knowledge of an endleſs variety of character in the human ſpecies, acquired from unreſtrained ſociety, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What elſe is it but defect of knowledge in the diſpoſitions of men that has confined Plautus and Terence, like the Italian comedy, to a very few characters?

Nothing is more evident than the ſuperiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing; and conſidering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the ſame originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excell'd in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue; but how account

account for his ſuperiority over Plautus in the conſtruction and conduct of a play? It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would imitate the worſt-conſtructed plays, leaving the beſt to thoſe who ſhould come after him. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, ſo far as I can recollect. Had the works of Menander and of his cotemperaries been preſerved, they probably would have explained the myſtery; which for want of that light will probably remain a myſtery for ever.

Homer has for more than two thouſand years been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flouriſhed when arts were far ſhort of maturity, is ſurpriſing, is miraculous. An author of genius (*a*) has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much induſtry, as well as invention; but in my apprehenſion without giving much ſatisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre has encouraged me to attempt a criticiſm on the Iliad, in order to judge whether Homer has ſo far anticipated the ordinary progreſs of nature as in a very early period to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgement muſt concur. Nature ſupplies the former; but to the latter inſtruction and imitation are eſſential. Shakeſpeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgement; and tho' inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars that require judgement ripen'd by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in uſeful arts, and ſtill leſs in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war are deſcribed by him as in a progreſs from the ſhepherd-ſtate to that of agriculture. Frequent mention is made in the Iliad of the

(*a*) Eſſay on the life and writings of Homer.

moſt eminent men being ſhepherds. Andromaché in particular (*a*) mentions ſeven of her brethren who were ſlain by Achilles as they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that ſtate, garments of woollen cloth were uſed; but the ſkins of beaſts, the original clothing, were ſtill worn as an upper garment: every chief in the Iliad appears in that dreſs. Such indeed was the ſimplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promiſed by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a ſpy. In times of ſuch ſimplicity, literature could not be far advanced; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a ſingle poem of the epic kind for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greateſt that ever exiſted: his fire, and the boldneſs of his conceptions, are inimitable. But in that early age it would fall little ſhort of a real miracle, to find ſuch ripeneſs of judgement, and correctneſs of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience, and progreſſive improvements, during the courſe of many centuries. Homer is far from being ſo ripe, or ſo correct. I ſhall mention but two or three particulars; for to dwell upon the imperfections of ſo eminent an author is not pleaſant. The firſt is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of eclat, but with the aſſiſtance of ſome deity: even Achilles himſelf is every where aided by ſuperior powers. It is Jupiter who inſpires Hector with boldneſs to perform the illuſtrious actions that are ſo finely deſcribed in the 15th book; and it is Jupiter who, changing ſides, fills his heart with diſmay. Glaucus, deſperately wounded, ſupplicates Apollo, is miraculouſly healed, and returns to the battle prefectly ſound. Hector, ſtruck to the ground with a ſtone, and at the point of giving up the ghoſt, is cured by Apollo, and ſent

(*a*) Book 6.

back

back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer reſembles a ſect of Chriſtians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himſelf, but that God does all. Can Homer's admirers be ſo blind as not to perceive, that this ſort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them leſs intereſting, and leſs worthy of admiration? Homer however is deſervedly ſuch a favourite that we are prone to admit any excuſe. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himſelf, it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, was infected with that weakneſs; and he certainly knew that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful and out of the common courſe of nature. Another particular is his digreſſions without end, which draw our attention from the principal ſubject. I wiſh as good an apology could be made for them. Diomedes (*a*), for inſtance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting from his majeſtic air whether he might not be an immortal, enquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very ſlight opportunity, in the very heat of action, to give a long hiſtory of his family. In the mean time the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon (*b*) deſiring advice how to reſiſt the Trojans, Diomedes ſprings forward; but before he offers advice, gives the hiſtory of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And after all, what was the ſage advice that required ſuch a preface? It was, that Agamemnon ſhould exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes ſo little known as to make it proper to ſuſpend the action at ſo critical a juncture for a genealogical hiſtory? There is a third particular which juſtly merits cenſure; and that is an endleſs number of mi-

(*a*) Book 6.

(*b*) Book 14.

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nute circumſtances, eſpecially in the deſcription of battles, where they are the moſt improper. One capital beauty of an epic poem is the ſelection of ſuch incidents and circumſtances as make a deep impreſſion, keeping out of view every thing low or familiar (*a*). An account of a ſingle battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the ſixth: yet in the whole there is no general action; but unknown warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a diſtance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound deſcribed with anatomical accuracy. The whole ſeventeenth book is employ'd in the conteſt about the dead body of Patroclus, ſtuffed with minute circumſtances below the dignity of an epic poem. In ſuch ſcenes the reader is fatigued with endleſs particulars; and has nothing to ſupport him but the melody of Homer's verſification. Gratitude would prompt one to apologiſe for an author who affords ſo much pleaſure: the only apology I can think of for the particulars laſt mentioned is, that Homer had no good models to copy after; and that without good models it is in vain to expect maturity of judgement. In a word, Homer was a blazing ſtar, and the more to be admired becauſe he blazed in an obſcure age. But that he ſhould in no degree be tainted with the imperfections of ſuch an age is a wild thought: it is ſcarce poſſible, but by ſuppoſing him to be more than man.

Particular cauſes that advance the progreſs of fine arts, as well as of uſeful arts, are mentioned in the firſt part of this Sketch, and to theſe I refer.

Having traced the progreſs of the fine arts toward maturity in a ſummary way, the decline of theſe arts comes next in order. An art, in its progreſs toward maturity, is greatly promoted by emulation; and after arriving at maturity, its downfal is not leſs

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 232. edit. 5.

promoted

promoted by it. It is difficult to judge of perfection but by compariſon; and an artiſt, ambitious to outſtrip his predeceſſors, cannot ſubmit to be an imitator, but muſt ſtrike out ſomething new, which in an art advanced to ripeneſs, ſeldom fails to be a degeneracy. This cauſe of the decline of the fine arts, I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate by various inſtances. The perfection of vocal muſic is to accompany paſſion, and to enforce ſentiment. In ancient Greece the province of muſic was well underſtood; which being confined within its proper ſphere, had an enchanting influence. Harmony at that time was very little cultivated, becauſe it was of very little uſe: melody reaches the heart, and it is by it chiefly that a ſentiment is enforc'd, or a paſſion ſooth'd: harmony on the contrary reaches the ear only; and it is a matter of undoubted experience, that the moſt melodious airs admit but of very ſimple harmony. Artiſts in later times, ignorant why harmony was ſo little regarded by the ancients, apply'd themſelves ſeriouſly to its cultivation; and they have been wonderfully ſucceſsful. But they have been ſucceſsful at the expence of melody; which in modern compoſitions, generally ſpeaking, is loſt amid the blaze of harmony. Theſe compoſitions tickle the ear by the luxury of complicated ſounds, but make ſeldom any impreſſion on the heart. The Italian opera in its form reſembles the Greek tragedy, from which it is evidently copied; but very little in ſubſtance. In the latter, muſic being made ſubſervient to ſentiment, the dialogue is nervous and ſublime: in the former, the whole weight is laid on muſic, and the dialogue, devoid of ſentiment, is weak and ſpiritleſs. Reſtleſs man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end *. By the ſame ambition,

* Corelli excells all the other moderns in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer without impoveriſhing the harmony; and his harmony could

bition, architecture has viſibly declined from its perfection. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order came next; which, in attempting greater perfection, has deviated from the true ſimplicity of nature; and the deviation is ſtill greater in the Compoſite order (*a*). With reſpect to literary productions, the firſt eſſays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may judge of this from Plautus, whoſe compoſitions are abundantly rude, tho' much admired by his cotemporaries, being the beſt that exiſted at that time. The exalted ſpirit of the Romans hurried them on to the grand and beautiful; and literary productions of all kinds were in perfection when Auguſtus reigned. In attempting ſtill greater perfection, the Roman compoſitions became a ſtrange jumble of inconſiſtent parts; they were tumid and pompous, and at the ſame time full of antitheſes, conceit, and tinſel wit. Every thing new in the fine arts pleaſes, tho' leſs perfect than what we are accuſtomed to; and for that reaſon ſuch compoſitions were generally reliſhed. We ſee not by what gradual ſteps writers after the time of Auguſtus deviated from the patterns that were before them; for no book of any moment after that time is preſerved till we come down to Seneca, in whoſe works nature and ſimplicity give place to artificial thought and baſtard wit. He was a great corrupter of the Roman taſte; and after him nothing was reliſhed but brilliant ſtrokes of fancy, with very little regard to ſentiment: even Virgil and Cicero made no figure in compariſon. Lucan has a forc'd elevation of thought and ſtyle, very difficult to

could not be richer without impoveriſhing the melody. And therefore if harmony is requiſite in any conſiderable degree, the productions of that author may be pronounced perfect.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 206. edit. 5.

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be ſupported; and accordingly he ſinks often into puerile reflections; witneſs his encomium on the river Po, which, ſays he, would equal the Danube, had it the ſame number of tributary ſtreams. Quintilian, a writer of true and claſſical taſte, who was protected and encouraged by Veſpaſian, attempted to ſtem the tide of falſe writing. His rhetoric is compoſed in an elegant ſtyle; and his obſervations contain every delicacy of the critcal art. At the ſame time flouriſhed Tacitus, poſſeſſing a more extenſive knowledge of the nature of man than any other author ancient or modern, if Shakeſpeare be not excepted. His ſtyle is original, conciſe, compact, and comprehenſive; and in what is properly called his hiſtory, perfectly correct and beautiful. He has been imitated by ſeveral, but never equalled by any. Brutus is ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans for love of liberty: Quintilian and Tacitus may be ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans for literary genius. Pliny the younger is no exception: his ſtyle is affected, turgid, and full of childiſh brilliancy. Seneca and Pliny are proper examples of writers who ſtudy ſhow more than ſubſtance, and who make ſenſe yield to ſound. The difference between theſe authors and thoſe of the Auguſtan age reſembles the difference between Greek and Italian muſic. Muſic among the Greeks limited itſelf to the employment to which it is deſtin'd by nature, viz. to be the handmaid of ſenſe, to enforce, enliven, or ſweeten, a ſentiment. In the Italian opera the miſtreſs is degraded to be the handmaid; and harmony triumphs, with very little regard to ſentiment.

Another great cauſe that precipitates the downfal of every fine art is deſpotiſm. The reaſon is obvious; and there is a diſmal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that in the decline of the art it became faſhionable to ſtuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely; and this alſo was long faſhionable in

France. It happened unluckily for the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when deſpotiſm put an end to the republic. Auguſtus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature; it being the politic of his reign to hide deſpotiſm, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a ſchool of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taſte, that elevation of ſentiment, and that purity of expreſſion, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius, and of ſubſequent emperors, broke at laſt the elevated and independent ſpirit of the brave Romans, reduced them to abject ſlavery, and left not a ſpark of genius *. The ſcience of law is the only exception, as it flouriſhed even in the worſt of times: the Roman lawyers were a reſpectable body, and leſs the object of jealouſy than men of power and extenſive landed property. Among the Greeks alſo, a conquered people, the fine arts decay'd; but not ſo rapidly as at Rome;

* A ſingular perſecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, moſt improperly ſurnamed the Great, againſt the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Chriſtendom were publicly burnt; and from that time there has not been ſeen a complete copy of any of theſe authors. This happen'd in the ſixth century: ſo ſoon had the Romans fallen, from the perfection of taſte and knowledge, to the moſt humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only perſecution of books on the ſcore of religion. Many centuries before, a ſimilar inſtance happened in China, directed by a fooliſh emperor. The Alexandrian library was twice conſumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæſar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar. What a profuſion of knowledge was loſt paſt redemption! And yet, upon the whole, it ſeems doubtful, whether the moderns have ſuffered by theſe events. At what corner of a library ſhall a man begin where he ſees an infinity of books, choice ones too? Even the moſt reſolute would be deterred from reading at all.

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the Greeks, farther removed from the ſeat of government, being leſs within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depreſſion they were guilty of the moſt puerile conceits; witneſs verſes compoſed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and ſuch like. The ſtyle of Greek authors in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian is unequal, obſcure, ſtiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need ſcarce any other cauſe but deſpotiſm to account for the decline of ſtatuary and painting in Greece. Theſe arts had arrived at their utmoſt perfection about the time of Alexander the Great; and from that time they declined gradually with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enſlaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be obſerved, that when a nation becomes ſtationary in that degree of power which it acquires from its conſtitution and ſituation, the national ſpirit ſubſides, and men of talents become rare. It is ſtill worſe with a nation that is ſunk below its former power and pre-eminence; and worſt of all when it is reduced to ſlavery. Other cauſes concurred to accelerate the downfal of the arts mentioned. Greece in the days of Alexander was filled with ſtatues of excellent workmanſhip; and there being little demand for more, the later ſtatuaries were reduced to heads and buſts. At laſt the Romans put a total end both to ſtatuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its fineſt pieces; and the Greeks, expoſed to the avarice of the conquerors, beſtow'd no longer any money on the fine arts. Winckelman, overlooking the cauſes mentioned, borrows from Velleius Paterculus a reaſon for the decline of the fine arts in Greece, not a little ridiculous. "Naturaque, quod ſummo ſtudio petitum eſt, aſcendit in ſummum; difficiliſque in perfecto mora eſt; naturaliterque, quod procedere non poteſt, recedit (*a*)." "The idea (ſays Winckelman) of

(*a*) Roman Hiſtory, lib. 1.

" beauty could not be made more perfect; and thoſe arts which " could not advance farther, become retrograde, by a fatality at- " tending all human things, viz. that if they cannot mount, they " muſt fall down, becauſe ſtability is not a quality of any created " thing."

The decline of the fine arts in Rome is by a writer of taſte and elegance aſcribed to a cauſe different from any above mentioned, a cauſe that overwhelms manhood as well as the fine arts where-ever it prevails; and that is opulence, joined with its faithful attendants avarice and luxury. It would be doing injuſtice to that author to refuſe him in his native language. " Priſcis temporibus, quum ad- " huc nuda virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuæ; ſummumque " certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum ſeculis diu la- " teret. Itaque, Hercules! omnium herbarum ſuccos Democri- " tus expreſſit: et ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem " inter experimenta conſumpſit. Eudoxus quidem in cacumine " excelſiſſimi montis conſenuit, ut aſtrorum cœlique motus de- " prehenderet: et Chryſippus, ut ad inventionem ſufficiret, ter " helleboro animum deterſit. Verum ut ad plaſtas convertar, " Lyſippum ſtatuæ unius lineamentis inhærentem inopia extinxit: " et Myron, qui penè hominum animas ferarumque ære compre- " henderat, non invenit heredem. At nos, vino ſcortiſque demerſi, " ne paratas quidem artes audemus cognoſcere; ſed accuſatores " antiquitatis, vitia tantum docemus, et diſcimus. Ubi eſt dia- " lectica? ubi aſtronomia? ubi ſapientiæ conſultiſſima via? " Quis unquam venit in templum, et votum fecit ſi ad eloquen- " tiam perveniſſet? quis, ſi philoſophiæ fontem inveniſſet? Ac " ne bonam quidem mentem, aut bonam valetudinem petunt: " ſed ſtatim, antequam limen capitolii tangunt, alius donum pro- " mittit ſi propinquum divitem extulerit; alius, ſi theſaurum ef- " foderit; alius, ſi ad trecenties H—S. ſalvus pervenerit. Ipſe " ſenatus, recti bonique præceptor, mille pondo auri capitolio

" promittere

" promittere ſolet: et ne quis dubitet pecuniam concupiſcere, Jo-
" vem quoque peculio exorat. Nolito ergo mirari, ſi pictura de-
" fecit, quum omnibus diis hominibuſque formoſior videatur
" maſſa auri, quam quidquid Apelles Phidiaſve fecerunt * (*a*)."
In England, the fine arts are far from ſuch perfection as to ſuffer by opulence. They are in a progreſs, it is true, toward matu-

* " In ancient times, when naked virtue had her admirers, the liberal arts were " in their higheſt vigour; and there was a generous conteſt among men, that no- " thing of real and permanent advantage ſhould long remain undiſcovered. De- " mocritus extracted the juice of every herb and plant, and left the virtue of a " ſingle ſtone or twig ſhould eſcape him, he conſumed a lifetime in experiments. " Eudoxus, immerſed in the ſtudy of aſtronomy, ſpent his age upon the top of a " mountain. Chryſippus, to ſtimulate his inventive faculty, thrice purified his ge- " nius with hellebore. To turn to the imitative arts: Lyſippus, while labouring " on the forms of a ſingle ſtatue, periſhed from want. Myron, whoſe powerful " hand gave to the braſs almoſt the ſoul of man, and animals,—at his death " found not an heir! Of us of modern times what ſhall we ſay? Immerſed in " drunkenneſs and debauchery, we want the ſpirit to cultivate thoſe arts which we " poſſeſs. We inveigh againſt the manners of antiquity; we ſtudy vice alone; " and vice is all we teach. Where now is the art of reaſoning? where aſtronomy? " where is the right path of wiſdom? What man now-a-days is heard in our " temples to make a vow for the attainment of eloquence, or for the diſcovery of " the fountain of true philoſophy? Nor do we even pray for health of body, or " a ſound underſtanding. One, while he has ſcarce entered the porch of the " temple, devotes a gift in the event of the death of a rich relation; another prays " for the diſcovery of a treaſure; a third for a miniſterial fortune. The ſenate " itſelf, the exemplary preceptor of what is good and laudable, has promiſed a " thouſand pounds of gold to the capitol; and, to remove all reproach from the " crime of avarice, has offered a bribe to Jupiter himſelf. How ſhould we won- " der that the art of painting has declined, when, in the eyes both of the gods " and men, there is more beauty in a maſs of gold, than in all the works of Phidias " and Apelles?"

(*a*) Petronius Arbiter.

rity;

rity; but, gardening alone excepted, they proceed in a very ſlow pace.

There is a particular cauſe that never fails to undermine a fine art in a country where it is brought to perfection, abſtracting from every one of the cauſes above mentioned. In the firſt part of the preſent ſketch it is remarked, that nothing is more fatal to an art or to a ſcience than a performance ſo much ſuperior to all of the kind as to extinguiſh emulation. This remark is exemplified in the great Newton, who, having ſurpaſſed all the ancients, has not left to his countrymen even the fainteſt hope of rivalling him; and to that cauſe is attributed the viſible decline of mathematics in Great Britain. The ſame cauſe would have been fatal to the arts of ſtatuary and painting among the Greeks, even tho' they had continued a free people. The decay of painting in modern Italy is probably owing to the ſame cauſe: Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, &c. are lofty oaks that bear down young plants in their neighbourhood, and intercept from them the ſunſhine of emulation. Had the art of painting made a ſlower progreſs in Italy, it might have there continued in vigour to this day. Velleius Paterculus ſays judiciouſly, "Ut primo ad conſequendos quos priores ducimus ac-"cendimur; ita, ubi aut præteriri aut æquari eos poſſe deſpera-"vimus, ſtudium cum ſpe ſeneſcit; et quod adſequi non poteſt, "ſequi deſinit: præteritoque eo in quo eminere non poſſimus, a-"liquid in quo nitamur conquirimus *."

The decline of an art or ſcience proceeding from the foregoing cauſe, is the moſt rapid where a ſtrict compariſon can be inſtituted

* "As at firſt we are excited to emulate thoſe ſuperior models, ſo when once "we have loſt the hope of excelling, or even of equalling them, our ambition fails "us with our hopes: we ceaſe to purſue what we cannot attain, and neglecting "that ſtudy in which we are debarred from arriving at excellence, we ſearch for "a different field of emulation."

between

between the works of different maſters. The ſuperiority of Newton above every other mathematician can be aſcertained with preciſion; and hence the ſudden decline of that ſcience in Great Britain. In Italy a talent for painting continued many years in vigour, becauſe no painter appeared with ſuch ſuperiority of genius as to carry perfection into every branch of the art. As one ſurpaſſed in deſigning, one in colouring, one in graceful attitudes, there was ſtill ſcope for emulation. But when at laſt there was not a ſingle perfection but what one or other maſter had excelled in, from that period the art began to languiſh. Architecture continued longer in vigour than painting, becauſe the principles of compariſon in the former are leſs preciſe than in the latter. The artiſt who could not rival his predeceſſors in an eſtabliſhed mode, ſought out a new mode for himſelf, which, tho' perhaps leſs elegant or perfect, was for a time ſupported by novelty.

Corruption of the Latin tongue makes a proper appendix to the decline of the fine arts in Rome. That the Latin tongue did not long continue in purity after the Emperor Auguſtus, is certain; and all writers agree, that the cauſe of its early corruption was a continual influx into Rome of men to whom the Latin was a foreign language. The reaſon is plauſible; but whether ſolid may juſtly be doubted. In all countries there are provincial dialects; which however tend not to corrupt the language of the capital, becauſe they are carefully avoided by all who pretend to ſpeak properly; and accordingly the multitude of provincials who flock to Paris and London have no effect to debaſe the language. The ſame probably was the caſe in old Rome, eſpecially with reſpect to ſtrangers whoſe native tongue was totally different from that of Rome: their imperfect manner of ſpeaking Latin might be excuſed, but certainly was not imitated. Slaves in Rome had little converſation with their maſters, except in receiving orders or reproof; which had no tendency to vitiate the Latin tongue. The

corruption

corruption of that tongue, and at laſt its death and burial as a living language, were the reſult of two combined cauſes; of which the early prevalence of the Greek language in Rome is the firſt. Latin was native to the Romans only, and to the inhabitants of Latium. The languages of the reſt of Italy were numerous: the Meſſapian was the mother-tongue in Apulia, the Hetruſcan in Tuſcany and Umbria, the Greek in Magna Græcia, the Celtic in Lombardy and Liguria, &c. &c. Latin had arrived at its purity not many years before the reign of Auguſtus; and had not taken deep root in thoſe parts of Italy where it was not the mother-tongue, when Greek came to be the faſhionable language among people of rank, as French is in Europe at preſent. Greek, the ſtorehouſe of learning, prevailed in Rome, even in Cicero's time; of which he himſelf bears teſtimony in his oration for the poet Archias. "Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus: La-" tina ſuis finibus, exiguis ſane, continentur." And for that reaſon Atticus is warmly ſolicited by him to write the hiſtory of his conſulſhip in Greek. Thus Latin, juſtled by Greek out of its place, was left to inferiors; and probably would have ſunk to utter oblivion, even though the republic had continued in vigour. But the chief cauſe was the deſpotiſm of the Roman government, which proved the deſtruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of ſo many different languages the Latin tongue could not be preſerved in purity, but by a conſtant peruſal of Roman claſſics: but theſe were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overſpread the whole empire. Every perſon careleſsly ſpoke the language acquired in the nurſery; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common ſtandard, fell gradually into a ſort of mixed language, which every one made a ſhift to underſtand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, ſeveral of whom ſettled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, compoſed of many heterogencous

rogeneous parts, was in proceſs of time purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a hiſtory of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The ſcience of law was in Rome more cultivated than in any other country. The books writ upon that ſcience in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the conſtant ſtudy of every man who aſpired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could ſuch men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, ſo far as concerns law, was preſerved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Juſtinian.

Greek was preſerved in purity much longer than Latin. The ſame language was ſpoken through all Greece, with ſome ſlight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during the proſperous days of Greece. Its claſſics were numerous, and the ſtudy of every perſon who pretended to literature *. Now tho' the free and manly ſpirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman deſpotiſm, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable claſſics were a ſtandard, which preſerved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became univerſal, and the Greek claſſics ceaſed to be a ſtandard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman claſſics had been for centuries. In that ſtate, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate, among an ignorant and ſervile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or ſpeak well. And yet after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has ſuffered leſs alteration than any other ever did in ſimilar circumſtances; one cauſe of which is, that to

* There ſtill remain about three thouſand Greek books: of Latin books not above ſixty.

this day the Greeks live ſeparate from their maſters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an obſervation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And ſuch as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will ſoon become obſolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reaſoning, to found a general concluſion upon a ſingle fact. In its progreſs toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But ſuppoſing a language to have acquired its utmoſt perfection, I ſee nothing that ſhould neceſſarily occaſion any change: on the contrary, the claſſical books in that language become a ſtandard for writing and ſpeaking, to which every man of taſte and figure conforms himſelf. Such was the caſe of the Greek tongue, till that people were brutified by deſpotiſm: the Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The Engliſh language has not yet acquired all the purity it is ſuſceptible of: but when there is no place for further improvements, there ſeems little doubt of its becoming ſtationary, like the languages now mentioned. I bar always ſuch a revolution as eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a ſtate of barbarity. In an event ſo diſmal, the deſtruction of claſſical books, and of a pure language, will not be the chief calamity: they will be little regretted in the univerſal wreck. In the mean time, to a writer of genius in a poliſhed nation it cannot but be a charming proſpect, that his works will ſtand and fall with his country. To make ſuch a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its claſſics, what nobler encitement, than the certainty of being tranſmitted to poſterity, and welcomed by every perſon of taſte through all ages!

As before the invention of printing writers could have nothing in

in view but reputation and praiſe, they endeavoured to give the utmoſt perfection to their compoſitions. They at the ſame time ſtudied brevity, in order that their works might be diffuſed through many hands; for the expence of tranſcribing great volumes could not be afforded by every reader. The art of printing has made a great change: the opportunity it furniſhes to multiply copies has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now ſtudy to ſwell their works, in order to ſwell the price; and being in a hurry for money, they neglect the precept of Horace, *Nonum prematur in annum.* Take for example the natural hiſtory of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with paſſages from every author ancient and modern, to the purpoſe and not to the purpoſe, he ſits down to compoſe, bent to transfuſe into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal; far from confining himſelf to its natural hiſtory, he omits nothing that has been ſaid of it in books where it has been occaſionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amuſing children: he mentions all the ſuperſtitious notions concerning it, every poetical compariſon drawn from it, the uſe it has ſerved in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial; in a word, all the hiſtories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another inſtance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whoſe name has eſcaped me, and which I give in a tranſlation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language. "Samſon was the ſame with the Theban Hercules; which appears from the actions attributed to each of them, eſpecially from the following, That Hercules, unarmed, is ſaid to have ſuffocated the Nemean lion with a ſqueeze of his arms: Samſon unarmed did the ſame, by tearing a lion to pieces; and Joſephus ſays, that he did not tear the lion, but put out his breath with a ſqueeze; which could be done, and was done by Scu-

" tileus the wreſtler, as reported by Suidas. David alſo, unarmed, " tore to pieces a lion, 1 Samuel, chap. 17.; and Benaiah the ſon " of Jehojada alſo ſlew a lion, 2 Samuel, chap. 23. ver. 20. More- " over we read, that Samſon having caught three hundred foxes, " tied lighted firebrands to their tails, and drove them into the " ſtanding corn of the Philiſtines, by which both the ſhocks and " ſtanding corn, with the vineyards and olives, were burnt up. " Many think it incredible, that three hundred foxes ſhould be " caught by one man; as the fox, being the moſt cunning of all " animals, would not ſuffer itſelf to be eaſily taken. Accordingly Oppian, a Greek poet who writes upon hunting, aſſerts, that " no fox will ſuffer itſelf to be taken in a gin or a net; tho' we are " taught the contrary by Martial, lib. 10. epig. 37.

" *Hic olidum clamoſus ages in retia vulpem.*

" In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are taught to hunt foxes, " as we are informed by Olianus, Var. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 26. They " are alſo caught by traps and ſnares, and in covered pits, as " wolves are, and other large animals. Nor is it wonderful that " ſuch a multitude of foxes were caught by Samſon, conſidering " that Paleſtine abounded with foxes. He had hunters without " number at command; and he was not confined in time. The " fame of that exploit was ſpread far and near. Even among the " Romans there were veſtiges of it, as appears from Ovid, Faſt. " lib. 9. ver. 681. In one Roman feſtival, armed foxes were let " looſe in the circus; which Ovid, in the place quoted, ſays, was " done in memory of the Carſiolan fox, which, having deſtroy'd " many hens belonging to a country-woman, was caught by her, " and puniſhed as follows. She wrapped up the fox in hay, which " ſhe ſet fire to; and the fox being let go, fled through the ſtand- " ing corn, and ſet it on fire. There can be no doubt but that

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" this feſtival was a veſtige of Samſon's foxes, not only from con-
" gruity of circumſtances, but from the time of celebration,
" which was the month of April, the time of harveſt in Paleſtine.
" See more about foxes in Burman's works." Not to mention the ridiculous arguments of this writer to prove Samſon to be the ſame with the Theban Hercules, nor the childiſh wanderings from that ſubject, every one muſt be ſenſible of his having overlooked the chief difficulty. However well fixed the fire-brands might be, it is not eaſily conceivable, that the foxes, who would naturally fly to their lurking-holes, could much injure the corn, or the olive trees. And it is as little conceivable, what ſhould have moved Samſon to employ foxes, when, by our author's ſuppoſition, he had men at command, much better qualified than foxes for committing waſte. This author would have ſaved himſelf much idle labour had he embraced a very probable opinion, that if the tranſlation be not erroneous, the original text muſt be corrupted. But enough, and more than enough, of theſe writers. Maturity of taſte has baniſhed ſuch abſurdities; and at preſent, happily, books are leſs bulky, and more to the purpoſe, than formerly.

It is obſerved above (*a*), that in a country thinly peopled, where the ſame perſon muſt for bread undertake different employments, the people are knowing and converſable; but ſtupid and ignorant in a populous country, where induſtry and manufactures abound. That obſervation holds not with reſpect to the fine arts. It requires ſo much genius to copy even a ſingle figure, whether in painting or in ſculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human

(*a*) Firſt ſection of the preſent Sketch.

actions,

actions, tends to envigorate thoſe faculties with reſpect to every ſubject, and of courſe to form a man of parts.

Such ſketches of the hiſtory of man as tend the moſt to explain his nature, are chiefly inſiſted on in this work. The hiſtory of muſic is entertaining, that branch eſpecially which compares ancient and modern muſic; and accordingly I have occaſionally handled that branch above. The other branches fall not properly within my plan; becauſe they ſeem to afford little opening into human nature. There is one article however, which regard to my native country will not ſuffer me to omit. We have in Scotland a multitude of ſongs tender and pathetic, expreſſive of love in its varieties of hope, fear, ſucceſs, deſpondence, and deſpair. The ſtyle of the muſic is wild and irregular, extremely pleaſant to the natives, but little reliſhed by the bulk of thoſe who are accuſtomed to the regularity of the Italian ſtyle. None but men of genius, who ſtudy nature, and break looſe from the thraldom of cuſtom, eſteem that muſic. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whoſe compoſitions ſhow no leſs delicacy of taſte than ſuperiority of genius, and it is warmly praiſed by Aleſſandro Taſſoni, the celebrated author of *Secchia Rapita*. Diſcourſing of ancient and modern muſic, and quoting from various authors the wonderful effects produced by ſome modern compoſitions, he ſubjoins the following paſſage. " Noi ancora poſſiamo connumerar trà noſtri, " Jacopo Rè de Scozia, che non pur coſe ſacre compoſe in canto, " ma trovò da ſeſteſſo una nuova muſica lamentevole e meſta, " differente da tutte l'altre. Nel che poi è ſtato imitato da Carlo " Geſualdo Principe di Venoſa, che in queſta noſtra età hà illu- " ſtrata anch' egli la muſica con nuova mirabili invenzioni (*a*) *." The

(*a*) Penſieri diverſi, lib. 10. cap. 23.

* " We may reckon among the compoſers of the moderns, James King of " Scotland, who not only compoſed ſacred ſongs, but was himſelf the *inventor* of

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The king mentioned muſt be James I. of Scotland, the only one of our kings who ſeems to have had any remarkable taſte in the fine arts; and the muſic can be no other than the ſongs mentioned above. Theſe are commonly thought to be the compoſition of David Rizzio, becauſe he was an Italian and a muſician; but erroneouſly, as we now diſcover from Taſſoni. That King was eminent for poetry no leſs than for muſic. He is praiſed for the former by Biſhop Leſlie, one of our hiſtorians, in the following words: "Patrii carminis gloriâ nulli ſecundus." We have many poems aſcribed by tradition to that king; one in particular, *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*, is a ludicrous poem, deſcribing low manners with no leſs propriety than ſprightlineſs.

Uſeful arts will never be neglected in a country where there is any police; for every man finds his account in them. Fine arts are more precarious. They are not reliſhed but by perſons of taſte, who are rare; and ſuch as can ſpare great ſums for ſupporting them, are ſtill more rare. For that reaſon they will never flouriſh in any country, unleſs patronized by the ſovereign, or by men of power and opulence. They merit ſuch patronage as one of the ſprings of government: and a capital ſpring they make, by multiplying amuſements, and humanizing manners; upon which account they have always been encouraged by good princes.

"a new ſtyle of muſic, plaintive and pathetic, different from all others. In this "manner of compoſition he has been imitated in our times by Carlo Geſualdo "Prince of Venoſa, who has illuſtrated that ſtyle of muſic with new and wonderful "invention."

SKETCH

SKETCH VI.

Progreſs of the FEMALE SEX.

THE hiſtory of the female ſex, a capital branch of the hiſtory of man, comprehends great variety of matter, curious and intereſting. But ſketches are my province, not complete hiſtories; and I propoſe in the preſent ſketch to trace the gradual progreſs of women, from their low ſtate in ſavage tribes, to their elevated ſtate in civilized nations.

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal diſpoſition, or of external figure, men and women are preciſely the ſame. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them characters different, but concordant, ſo as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, naturally more robuſt, is fitted for ſevere labour and for field-exerciſes: the woman for ſedentary occupations; and particularly for nurſing children. To that difference the mind alſo contributes. A boy is always running about; delights in a top or a ball; and rides upon a ſtick for want of a horſe. A girl has leſs inclination to move: her firſt amuſement is a baby; which ſhe delights to dreſs and undreſs. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern: the woman, conſcious of inferiority, is diſpoſed to obedience. Their intellectual powers correſpond to the deſtination of nature: men have penetration and ſolid judgement to fit them for governing:

governing: women have ſufficient underſtanding to make a decent figure under good government; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalſhip. Add another capital difference of character: the gentle and inſinuating manners of the female ſex tend to ſoften the roughneſs of the other ſex; and where-ever women are indulged with any freedom, they poliſh ſooner than men.

Theſe are not the only particulars that diſtinguiſh the ſexes. With reſpect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as ſuperior and protector, to make a choice: the female preferred has no privilege but barely to conſent or to refuſe. Nature fits them for theſe different parts: the male is bold, the female baſhful. Hence among all nations it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted: which holds alſo among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another diſtinction is equally viſible: The maſter of a family is immediately connected with his country: his wife, his children, his ſervants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country through him only. Women accordingly have leſs patriotiſm than men; and leſs bitterneſs againſt the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modeſty of the female ſex is alſo a diſtinguiſhing circumſtance. Nature hath provided them with it as their chief defence againſt the artful ſolicitations of the other ſex before marriage, and alſo as the chief ſupport of conjugal fidelity. It is held to be their capital virtue; and a woman who ſurrenders her chaſtity is univerſally deſpiſed; tho' in a man chaſtity is ſcarce held to be a virtue, except in the married ſtate. But of that more fully afterwards.

A fundamental article in the preſent ſketch is matrimony; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exerciſed their talents in that controverſy, but without giving any ſatiſ-

faction to a judicious enquirer. If I miſtake not, it may be determined upon ſolid principles; and as it is of importance in the hiſtory of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be diſguſted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold, that women were originally common; that animal love was gratified as among horſes and horned cattle; and that matrimony was not known till nations grew in ſome degree to be orderly and refined. I ſelect Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris homines paſ-" ſim, beſtiarum more, vagabantur, et ſibi victu ferino vitam " propagabant: nec ratione animi quicquam ſed pleraque viribus " corporis adminiſtrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis non huma-" ni officii ratio colebatur. Nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non " certos quiſquam inſpexerat liberos * (*a*)." Pliny, in ſupport of that doctrine, informs us, that the Garamantes, an African nation, lived promiſcuouſly together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auſes, a people of Libya, as Herodotus ſays, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other animals. A boy educated by his mother was at a certain age admitted to an aſſembly of the men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Juſtin and other authors report, that before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Chriſt, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

* "For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roamed abroad over the " earth, and fed like wild beaſts upon other animals. Then reaſon bore no ſway, " but all was ruled by ſuperior ſtrength. The ties of religion, and the obligations " of morality, were then unfelt. Lawful marriage was unknown, and no father " was certain of his offspring."

(*a*) De Inventione, lib. 1.

Before

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if poſſible, the bias of theſe great names. The practice of the Garamantes and of the Auſes is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as ſingular; and were it better vouched than it is, it would avail very little againſt the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, conſidering what he reports in the ſame chapter of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt. Pliny at the ſame time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, were groſsly credulous; and cannot be rely'd on with reſpect to any thing ſtrange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops poſſibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced ſome other matrimonial regulation, which by writers might be miſtaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly falſe; for it will be made evident afterward, that in the hunter-ſtate, or even in that of ſhepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own induſtry alone, to rear a numerous iſſue. If this be at all poſſible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account Diodorus Siculus is leſs blameable for liſtening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, ſuppoſed to be the iſland of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are uſed promiſcuouſly. But as there is no ſuch practice known at preſent in the Eaſt Indies, there is no juſt ground to believe, that it ever was the practice; and the Eaſt Indies were ſo little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much rely'd on in the accounts they give of that diſtant region. The opinion of Cicero may ſeem to have more weight at firſt view; and yet a ſingle obſervation will reduce it to nothing. The notions of that author upon the primitive ſtate of man muſt confeſſedly be exceedingly crude, when he denies to ſavages any ſenſe of religion or of moral

duty. Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies, that they have any notion of matrimony? Cæſar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the neareſt to a looſe commerce with women, tho' in the main it is good evidence againſt the opinion of Cicero. It was common, he ſays, for a number of brothers, or other near relations, to uſe their wives promiſcuouſly. The offspring however were not common; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the ſame of the Maſſagetæ.

Laying thus aſide the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial inveſtigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals may probably throw light upon the œconomy of nature with reſpect to man, I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturaliſts ſo much as it ought to do. With reſpect to animals whoſe nouriſhment is graſs, pairing would be of no uſe: the female feeds herſelf and her young at the ſame inſtant, and the male has nothing to do. On the other hand, all brute animals whoſe young require the nurſing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair; nor is that connection diſſolved till the young can provide for themſelves. Pairing is indiſpenſable to wild birds that build on trees; becauſe the male muſt provide food for his mate while ſhe is hatching the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous iſſue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themſelves and for their young. Upon that account it is ſo ordered, that the young are ſufficiently vigorous to provide for themſelves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened ſuggeſts the following queſtion, Whether, according to the animal œconomy above diſplay'd, are we to preſume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony? If analogy can be rely'd on, the affirmative muſt be held, as there is

no

no other creature in the known world to which pairing is ſo neceſſary. Man is a long-lived animal, and is proportionally ſlow in growing to maturity: he is a helpleſs being before the age of fifteen or ſixteen, and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births before the eldeſt can ſhift for itſelf. Now in the original ſtate of hunting and fiſhing, which are laborious occupations, and not always ſucceſsful, a woman ſuckling her infant is not able to provide food even for herſelf, far leſs for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony therefore, or pairing, is ſo neceſſary to the human race, that it muſt be natural and inſtinctive. When ſuch ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it ſuppoſable that the chief race would be neglected? Providential care deſcends even to vegetable life: every plant bears a profuſion of ſeed; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, ſome ſeeds have wings, ſome are ſcattered by means of a ſpring, and ſome are ſo light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have graſs and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young without needing any help from the male. But where the young require the nurſing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are ſo amply provided for, can it be ſeriouſly thought, that Providence is leſs attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be leſs fitted for continuing their ſpecies than even the humbleſt plant. Have we not reaſon fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that concluſion be reſiſted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final cauſes *.

To

* It appears a wiſe appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are ſtill in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offſpring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children

To confirm this doctrine, let the conſequences of a looſe commerce between the ſexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, ſeldom tranſgreſſes the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam like a bee ſucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination; and ſatiety with reſpect to one, would give new vigour with reſpect to others: a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition (*a*); and animal love would become the ruling paſſion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuoſity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women ſuckling their infants: and women, abandoning themſelves to the ſame paſſion, would become altogether regardleſs of their offspring. In that ſtate, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the ſavage ſtate, as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careleſs of her family, however eaſy it might be to provide for it *.

children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

* I have often been tempted to find fault with Providence in bringing ſo early to perfection the carnal appetite, while a man, ſtill in early youth, has acquired no degree of prudence nor of ſelf-command. It rages indeed the moſt when young men ſhould be employ'd in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themſelves for living comfortably in the world. I have ſet this thought in various lights; but I now perceive that the cenſure is without foundation. The early ripeneſs of this appetite proves it to be the intention of Providence that people ſhould early ſettle in matrimony. In that ſtate the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obſtruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till one, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wanders from object to object. It is pride and luxury that dictate late marriages: induſtry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themſelves to the demands of nature.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 14.

I ſay more: The promiſcuous uſe of women would unqualify them in a great meaſure from procreating, or having a family. The carnal appetite in man reſembles his appetite for food: both of them demand gratification without end, after ſhort intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a ſhort ſpace annually, as among animals who feed on graſs, the promiſcuous uſe of females is according to the order of nature: but ſuch a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to population; as it is an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to exceſs, ſeldom have children; and if all women were common, all women would in effect be common proſtitutes.

If undiſguiſed nature ſhow itſelf any where, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an inſtinct of nature, as to be underſtood even by children. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they alſo hear of logical, metaphyſical, and commercial matters, without underſtanding a ſyllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage at the ſame time is a compound idea, which no inſtruction could bring within the comprehenſion of a child, did not nature co-operate.

That the arguments urged above againſt a promiſcuous uſe of women do not neceſſarily conclude againſt polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not eſcape an attentive reader. St Auguſtin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius profeſſes the ſame opinion (*a*). But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing in the ſtricteſt ſenſe is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a groſs infringement of this law. My reaſons follow.

(*a*) De jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

I urge, in the firſt place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication of the will of God, that every man ſhould be confined to one wife, and every woman to one huſband. That equality which has ſubſiſted in all countries, and at all times, is a ſignal inſtance of over-ruling Providence; for the chances againſt it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank; and every man conſequently is equally privileged to have a wife; which cannot be, if polygamy be permitted. Were ten women born for one man, as is falſely reported to be the caſe in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the ſacred ſcripture, "That a man ſhall leave his father and "mother, and cleave to his wife; and that they ſhall be one "fleſh."

Conſider, in the next place, that however plauſible poligamy may appear in the preſent ſtate of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and ſenſuality; yet that the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forc'd ſtate, where numberleſs individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a juſt notion of polygamy, we muſt look back to the original ſtate of man, where all are equal. In that ſtate, every man cannot have two wives; and conſequently no man is intitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the ſame time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a ſavage who may have fifty or ſixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his induſtry. Chance muſt turn out much in his favour, if the half of them periſh not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants who are diſtributed more equally in different families?

Polygamy

Polygamy is attended with an effect ſtill more pernicious, with reſpect to children even of the moſt opulent families. Unleſs affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper ſociety in the matrimonial ſtate, no cordiality, nor due care of offſpring. But ſuch affection is inconſiſtent with polygamy: a woman in that ſtate, far from being a companion to her huſband, is degraded to the rank of a ſervant, a mere inſtrument of pleaſure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite: the reſt turn peeviſh; and if they reſent not the injury againſt their huſband, and againſt their children as belonging to him, will at leaſt be diſheartened, and neglect them altogether. At the ſame time, fondneſs for the favourite wife and her children makes the huſband indifferent about the reſt; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents (*a*). To produce ſuch an effect, is certainly not the purpoſe of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow ſpace of time: while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that ſhe may not be abſtracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake: frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes conſtancy a pleaſure. Such is the caſe of the human race; and ſuch is the caſe of wild birds (*b*). Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the neſt, plants himſelf upon the next ſpray, and chears her with a ſong. There is ſtill greater pleaſure provided for the human race in the matrimonial ſtate, and ſtronger incitements to

(*a*) L'eſprit des loix, liv. 16. chap. 6.

(*b*) Buffon, liv. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

conſtancy. Sweet is the ſociety of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of huſband, wife, lover, friend, the tendereſt affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the ſovereign commands with humanity, and the ſubjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal ſociety arrives at ſtill greater perfection, where huſband and wife govern and are governed reciprocally, with entire ſatisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's perſon and conduct; ſhe bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; and ſhe by perſuaſion. Nor can her authority ever fail, where it is ſupported by ſweetneſs of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

* L'empire de la femme eſt un empire de douceur, d'adreſſe, et de complaiſance; ſes ordres ſont des careſſes, ſes menaces ſont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maiſon comme un miniſtre dans l'etat, en ſe faiſant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ce ſens il eſt conſtant que les meilleurs ménages ſont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle meconnoit la voix du chef, qu'elle veut uſurper ſes droits et commander elle-meme; il ne reſulte jamais de ce deſordre, que miſere, ſcandale, et deſhonneur. *Rouſſeau Emile, liv. 5. p. 96.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* " The empire of the woman is an empire of ſoftneſs, of addreſs, of compla- " cency; her commands are careſſes, her menaces are tears. She ought to reign " in the family like a miniſter in the ſtate, by making that which is her inclina- " tion be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is evident, that the beſt domeſtic e- " conomy is that where the wife has moſt authority. But when ſhe is inſenſible to " the voice of her chief, when ſhe tries to uſurp his prerogative, and to command " alone, what can reſult from ſuch diſorder, but miſery, ſcandal, and diſho- " nour?"] —— The Empreſs Livia being queſtioned by a married lady, how ſhe had obtained ſuch aſcendant over her huſband Auguſtus, anſwered, " By being " obedient to his commands, by not wiſhing to know his ſecrets, and by hiding " my knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of ſingular prudence, and of ſolid judgement. A character of her, publiſhed after her death, contains the following paſſage. " She had a great aſcendency over the " King, founded on his perſuaſion of her ſuperior ſenſe, which ſhe ſhow'd in a " perfect

The God of nature has enforc'd conjugal ſociety, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chaſtity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no inſtinct for pairing, chaſtity is utterly unknown; and to them it would be uſeleſs. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the ſhe-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the firſt that comes in the way without diſtinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chaſtity: they pair not; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chaſtity and mutual fidelity are eſſential to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nurſing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by inſtinct faithful to each other while their young require nurture. Chaſtity and mutual fidelity in matrimony are equally eſſential to the human race, and equally enforc'd by the principle of chaſtity, a branch of the moral ſenſe.

Nor is chaſtity confined to the matrimonial ſtate. Matrimony is inſtituted by nature for continuing the ſpecies; and it is the duty of man to abſtain from animal enjoyment except in that ſtate. The ceremonies of marriage, and the cauſes of ſeparation and divorce, are ſubjected to municipal law: but if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with the mother in taking care of them; and ſuch union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the firſt acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with ſhame, and with a degree of remorſe. At the ſame time, as chaſtity in perſons who are ſingle is only a ſelf-duty, it is not ſo ſtrongly enforc'd by the moral ſenſe as chaſtity is in married perſons, who

" perfect ſubmiſſion to his commands; the more eaſily obey'd, as they were com-
" monly, tho' to him imperceptibly, dictated by herſelf. She cured him of many
" foibles, and in a word was his Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor."

owe to each other mutual fidelity. Deviations accordingly from the former make a leſs figure than from the latter: we ſcarce ever hear of adultery among ſavages; tho' among them incontinence before marriage is not uncommon. In Wales, even at preſent, and in the highlands of Scotland, it is ſcarce a diſgrace for a young woman to have a baſtard. In the country laſt mentioned, the firſt inſtance known of a baſtard-child being deſtroy'd by its mother through ſhame is a late one. The virtue of chaſtity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to deſtroy her child is, to conceal her frailty. The principle of chaſtity, like that of propriety or of decency, is but faint among ſavages, and has little of that authority which it acquires among poliſhed nations before they are corrupted by luxury. We ſhall have occaſion to ſee afterward, that even the great duty of juſtice is but faint among barbarians, and yields too readily to every irregular impulſe, till the moral ſenſe acquires full maturity. Bougainville reports, that in the iſland of Otaheite, or King George's iſland, a young woman is free to follow her inclinations; and that her having had many lovers gives her not the leſs chance for a huſband.

Chaſtity is no doubt a reſtraint upon nature; and therefore, if ſhame be removed, by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious diſtemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to repeople the country, which ſucceeded to a wiſh. A law was made, authoriſing young women in that iſland to have baſtards, even to the number of ſix, without wounding their reputation *. The young women were ſo zealous

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Peru, mentions a very ſingular taſte prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife; and thinks himſelf diſhonoured

zealous to repeople their country, that after a few years it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modeſty is by nature intended to guard chaſtity, as chaſtity is to guard matrimony. And modeſty, like chaſtity, is one of thoſe delicate principles that make no great figure among ſavages. In the land of Jeſſo, young women ſometimes go naked in ſummer: if however they meet a ſtranger, they hang the head, and turn away through ſhame. Nature here is their only inſtructor *. Some ſavage tribes have ſo little notion of modeſty, as to go naked, without even covering their privy parts. Regnard reports upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiſcuouſly, and are not aſhamed to be ſeen in that condition, even by a ſtranger. As this appeared ſingular, I took opportunity to mention it to Dr Solander, who made more than one viſit to that country. He ſaid, that Regnard's report might be true, but without any imputation on the modeſty of the Laplanders; for that their place of bathing is always ſo dark, that nothing can be ſeen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaſte. The inhabitants of Otaheite, tho' otherwiſe a good ſort of people, ſeem to have as little notion of modeſty as of chaſtity. We have Bougainville's authority, that they frankly offered their young women to the French, and were greatly ſurpriſed when they declined performing in public. The women of New Zeland are both chaſte and modeſt. In Lieutenant Cook's voyage round the world, it is reported, that he ſtumbled upon ſome of them naked, ſearching for

diſhonoured if his wife have not, before marriage, enjoy'd many lovers. If we can truſt Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Aſia, is not reckoned fit to be married till ſhe be deflowered.

* Doth not modeſty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never ſeen in copulation, nor cats, nor beaſts of prey.

lobſters

lobſters in the ſea; and that they were in great confuſion for being ſeen in this condition by ſtrangers.

But now, if pairing in the ſtricteſt ſenſe be a law of nature among men, as among ſome other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was univerſal, and to this day obtains among many nations? I am reduced to no dilemma here. Polygamy is derived from two ſources; firſt, from ſavage manners, once univerſal; and next, from voluptuouſneſs in warm climates, which inſtigates men of wealth to tranſgreſs every rule of temperance. Theſe two ſources I propoſe to handle with care, becauſe they make a great part of the hiſtory of the female ſex.

With reſpect to the firſt, ſweetneſs of temper, a capital branch of the female character, diſplays itſelf externally, by mild looks, and gentle manners. But ſuch graces are ſcarce perceptible in a female ſavage; and even in the moſt poliſhed would not be perceived by a male ſavage. Among ſavages, ſtrength and boldneſs are the only valued qualities: in theſe qualities females are miſerably deficient; and for that reaſon are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North-American tribes glory in idleneſs: the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young perſons in marriage is accordingly the buſineſs of parents; and it would be unpardonable meanneſs in the bridegroom to ſhew any fondneſs for the bride. Young men among the Hottentots are admitted into ſociety with their ſeniors at the age of eighteen; after which it is diſgraceful to keep company with females. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her huſband; but after every meal attends him with water for waſhing. A woman in the Caribbee iſlands is not permitted to eat even in preſence of her huſband; and yet we are aſſured (*a*), that the women there obey with ſuch ſweet-

(*a*) Labat's voyages to the American iſlands.

neſs

neſs and reſpect, as never to give their huſbands occaſion to remind them of their duty; "an example," adds our ſage author, "worthy the imitation of Chriſtian wives, who are daily inſtructed from the pulpit in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, *but to very little purpoſe.*" Dampier obſerves in general, that among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the higheſt rank are not better treated. The ſovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his ſlaves: one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and ſing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Teſtament in Engliſh to be read by women, 'prentices, journeymen, or ſerving men (*a*). What a pitiful figure muſt the poor women have made in that age! In Siberia, and even in Ruſſia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every reſpect as ſlaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more reſpectable footing among people of rank; and yet ſuch are the brutal manners of the Ruſſians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

The low condition of the female ſex among ſavages and barbarians paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taſte for variety, and ſtill more by pride, which is gratified by many ſervants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, tho' rooted in human nature, makes little figure among ſavages, yielding to every irregular appetite; and this fairly accounts why polygamy was once univerſal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing elſe, ſhould have raiſed women

(*a*) 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 1.

to

to ſome degree of eſtimation among the men. But male ſavages, utter ſtrangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirſt.

Hence appears the reaſon of a cuſtom that will ſurpriſe thoſe who are unacquainted with ancient cuſtoms; which is, that women were purchaſed for wives, as other goods are purchaſed. Women by marriage became ſlaves; and no man will give away his daughter to be a ſlave, but for a valuable conſideration. The practice was univerſal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his ſon Iſaac for a wife (*a*). Jacob having nothing elſe to give, ſerved Laban fourteen years for two wives (*b*). Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, ſaid, "Aſk me never ſo much dowry and gift, and I will "give according as ye ſhall ſay unto me: but give me the dam-"ſel to wife (*c*)." To David, demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul ſaid, "The king deſireth not any dowry, but an "hundred foreſkins of the Philiſtines (*d*)." In the Iliad, Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles for a wife, and ſays, that he would not demand for her any price. Pauſanias reports of Danaus, that no ſuitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he publiſhed, that he would give them without dowry. In Homer there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchaſe was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Ariſtotle, who infers, that their forefathers muſt have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards

(*a*) Geneſis, xxiv. 53.

(*b*) Geneſis, chap. xxix.

(*c*) Geneſis, xxxiv. 12.

(*d*) 1 Samuel xviii. 25.

purchaſed

purchaſed their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the ſame was practiſed in Thrace. And the latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony *per æs et libram*, which was ſolemnized by laying down a quantity of braſs, with a balance for weighing it, underſtood to be the price paid for the bride. This muſt have been once a reality, tho' it ſunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became cuſtomary for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Aſſyrians, at ſtated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and diſpoſed of them by auction. Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary ann. 1253, reports, that there every man bought his wife. They believe, he adds, that their wives ſerve them in another world as they do in this; for which reaſon, a widow has no chance for a ſecond huſband, whom ſhe cannot ſerve in the other world. Olaus Magnus remarking, that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reaſon, better ſuited perhaps to the time he lived in than to what he deſcribes. "Apud Gothos, "non mulier viro ſed vir mulieri dotem aſſignat; ne conjux, ob "magnitudinem dotis inſoleſcens, aliquando ex placida conſorte "proterva evadet, atque in maritum dominari contendat *;" as if the hazard of petulancy in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—a ſad doctrine for an heireſs. Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his deſcription of Wales, ſays, that formerly they hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation, it having been cuſtomary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a ſum of money told down, and under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I believe to be a miſtake. It is more

* "Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his bride, inſtead of receiving "one with her; to prevent pride and inſolence, that commonly accompany riches "on the woman's part."

probable, that in Wales men purchaſed their wives, as was done all the world over, with liberty to return them if they proved not agreeable. The bride's parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a huſband was as good as ever.

The ſame cuſtom continues among barbarous nations. It continues among the Tartars, among the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the Oſtiacs, among the people of Pegu, and of the Molucca iſlands. In Timor, an Eaſt-Indian iſland, men even ſell their children to purchaſe more wives. The Prince of Circaſſia demanded from the Prince of Mingrelia, who was in ſuit of his daughter, a hundred ſlaves loaded with tapeſtry and other houſehold furniture, a hundred cows, as many oxen, and as many horſes. We have evidence of the ſame cuſtom in Africa, particularly in Biledulgerid, among the negroes on the ſea-coaſt, and in Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees there is one inſtance where a man gets a wife without paying for her. After a ſucceſsful war, the victors are entertained at a feaſt, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the beſt figure. Every man who has marriageable daughters, is fond to offer them to ſuch young men without any price. The purchaſing of wives is univerſal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to viſit the bride: if ſhe anſwer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim for the price he paid. The inland negroes are more poliſhed than thoſe on the coaſt; and there is ſcarce any remains among them of purchaſing wives: the bridegroom makes preſents to his bride, and her father makes preſents to him. There are remaining traces in Ruſſia of purchaſing wives. Even ſo late as the time of Peter I. the Ruſſians married without ſeeing each other; and before ſolemnization the bride received from the bridegroom a preſent of ſweetmeats, ſoap, and other little things.

The purchaſing of wives made it a lawful practice to lend a wife as one does a ſlave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends; and

and Cato the elder is ſaid to have done the ſame. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutiſh manners alone be ſufficient to degrade the female ſex, they may reckon upon extreme harſh treatment when purchaſed to be ſlaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Africa, being ſupinely idle at home, ſubject their wives and their ſlaves to every ſort of drudgery, ſuch as digging, ſowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c. Theſe poor creatures are ſuffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with exceſſive labour, while the monſters of men will not give themſelves even the trouble of training animals for work, tho' they have the example of the Portugueſe before their eyes. It is the buſineſs of the women among the wandering Arabs of Africa to card, ſpin, and weave, and to manage other houſehold affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dreſs the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their huſbands horſes, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and ſaddle them. They would alſo be obliged, like Mooriſh wives, to dig, ſow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joſeph Gumilla, in his account of a country in South America, bordering upon the great river Oroonoko, deſcribes pathetically the miſerable ſlavery of married women there, and mentions a practice that would appear incredible to one unacquainted with the manners of that country, which is, that married women frequently deſtroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good underſtanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently to an end, with eyes fixed on the ground; and anſwered as follows. "I "wiſh to God, Father, I wiſh to God, that my mother had "by my death prevented the manifold diſtreſſes I have endu-"red, and have yet to endure as long I live. Had ſhe kindly

" ſtifled me at my birth, I ſhould not have felt the pain of " death, nor numberleſs other pains to which life hath ſubject- " ed me. Conſider, Father, our deplorable condition. Our huſ- " bands go to hunt with their bows and arrows, and trouble " themſelves no farther. We are dragged along, with one infant " at our breaſt, and another in a baſket. They return in the e- " vening without any burden: we return with the burden of our " children; and, tho' tired out with a long march, are not per- " mitted to ſleep, but muſt labour the whole night in grinding " maize, to make chica for them. They get drunk, and in their " drunkenneſs beat us, draw us by the hair of the head, and " tread us under foot. And what have we to comfort us for " ſlavery, perhaps of twenty years? A young wife is brought in " upon us, who is permitted to abuſe us and our children, be- " cauſe we are no longer regarded. Can human nature endure " ſuch tyranny! What kindneſs can we ſhow to our female chil- " dren equal to that of relieving them from ſuch ſervitude, more " bitter a thouſand times than death? I ſay again, would to God " that my mother had put me under ground the moment I was " born." One would readily imagine, that the women of that country ſhould have the greateſt abhorrence at matrimony: but all-prevailing nature determines the contrary; and the appetite for matrimony overbalances every rational conſideration.

Nations poliſh by degrees; and from the loweſt ſtate to which a human creature can be reduced, women came in time to be reſtored to their native dignity. Attention to dreſs is the firſt ſymptom of that progreſs. Male ſavages, even of the groſſeſt kind, are fond of dreſs. Charlevoix mentions a young American hired as a rower, who adjuſted his dreſs with great care before he entered the boat; and at intervals inſpected his looking-glaſs, to ſee whether the violence of his motion had not diſcompoſed the red upon his cheeks. We read not of vanity for dreſs in females of ſuch

ſuch ſavage nations: they are too much diſpirited to think of being agreeable. Among nations in any degree humanized we find a different ſcene. In the iſthmus of Darien government has made ſome progreſs, as a chieftain is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears among the inhabitants; and as ſome regard is paid to women, they rival the men in dreſs. Both ſexes wear rings in their ears and noſes; and are adorned with many rows of ſhells hanging down from the neck. A female in a ſultry climate ſubmits to fry all day long under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of ſhells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athenians! what do I not endure "to gain your approbation?" The female Caribbeans and Braſilians are not leſs fond of ornament than the males. Hottentot ladies are fond of dreſs; and ſtrive to outdo each other in adorning their kroſſes, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco: European ladies are not more vain of their ſilks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, ſometimes of ſilver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are naſty and ſlovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, ſeldom or never waſh themſelves; and yet the women, who make ſome figure among the men, are gaudy in their dreſs. Their chief ornaments are pendents at their ears, with glaſs beads of various colours; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, croſs the forehead, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made a conſiderable progreſs in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry dreſs and finery to an extravagance. They are cloathed with loads of the fineſt ſatins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profuſion of gold. In a ſultry climate they gratify vanity at the expence of eaſe. Among the inland negroes, who are more

more poliſhed than thoſe on the ſea-coaſt, beſide domeſtic concerns, the women ſow, plant, and reap. A man however ſuffers in the eſteem of the world, if he permit his wives to toil like ſlaves while he is indulging in eaſe. From that auſpicious commencement, the female ſex have riſen in a ſlow but ſteady progreſs to higher and higher degrees of eſtimation. Converſation is their talent, and a diſplay of delicate ſentiments: the gentleneſs of their manners, and winning behaviour, captivate every ſenſible heart. Of ſuch refinements ſavages have little conception: but when the more delicate ſenſes are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female ſex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light; and women, formerly conſidered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony aſſumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a maſter and ſlave, but of two perſons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious refinement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among poliſhed nations; which of courſe baniſhed the barbarous cuſtom of purchaſing wives; for a man who wiſhes to have his daughter properly matched, will gladly give a dowry with her, inſtead of ſelling her as a ſlave.

Polygamy is found intimately connected with the purchaſing wives. There is no limitation in purchaſing ſlaves: nor has a woman purchaſed as a wife or a ſlave, any juſt cauſe for complaining, that others are purchaſed as ſhe was: on the contrary, ſhe is in part relieved, by addition of hands for performing the ſervile offices of the family. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchaſed their wives, and were indulged in polygamy (*a*). Diodorus Sicu-

(*a*) Leviticus, xviii. 18.

lus.

lus ſays, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to prieſts (*a*). This probably was the caſe originally; but when the Egyptian manners came to be poliſhed, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, inſtead of receiving a price for her; witneſs Solomon, who got the city of Gazer in dowry with the King of Egypt's daughter. When that cuſtom became univerſal, we may be certain that it would put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt (*b*). Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was cuſtomary to purchaſe wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and conſequently to the former. Polygamy to this day obtains in the cold country of Kamſkatka; and in the ſtill colder country round Hudſon's bay. In the land of Jeſſo, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every ſort of domeſtic drudgery. The negroes in general purchaſe their wives, and deal in polygamy. Polygamy is the law in Monomotapa. Polygamy and the purchaſing wives were cuſtomary among the original inhabitants of the Canary iſlands. The men in Chili buy their wives, and deal in polygamy.

The low condition of women among barbarians introduced polygamy, and the purchaſing women to be wives. And the juſt reſpect paid to them among civilized nations, reſtored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another huſband. We find traces in ancient hiſtory of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece, as manners refined; but ſuch was the influence of long habit, that tho' a man was confined to one wife, concubines were in-

(*a*) Lib. 1.

(*b*) Lib. 2. § 92.

dulged

dulged without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy. "Severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope "ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur *." When polygamy was in that country ſo little practiſed, we may be certain the purchaſing wives did not remain in vigour. And Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the general rule, "dotem non uxor marito, ſed uxori maritus offert †," explains it away by obſerving, that the only *dos* given by the bridegroom were marriage-preſents, and that he at the ſame time received marriage-preſents on the bride's part (*a*). The equality of the matrimonial engagement, for the mutual benefit of huſband and wife, was well underſtood among the Gauls. Cæſar (*b*) ſays, "Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, "tantas ex ſuis bonis, æſtimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructuſque ſervantur. Uter eorum vita ſuperarit, ad eum pars utriuſque cum fructibus ſuperiorum temporum pervenit ‡." In

* "Marriage is there rigidly reſpected; nor is there any part of their morality "more laudable: for they are almoſt the only race of barbarians who are contented with a ſingle wife; a very few excepted, who, not from incontinency, but "from an ambition of nobility, take more wives than one."

† "The huſband gives a dowry to the wife, but the wife brings none to the "huſband."

‡ "Whatever ſum the huſband has received as his wife's portion, he allots as "much from his own effects to be joined with it. An account is kept of this "joint ſtock, and the fruits of it are preſerved. Upon the death of either, "the ſurviving ſpouſe has the property of both the ſhares, with the fruits or "profits."

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 18.

(*b*) Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.

Japan,

Japan, and in Nicaragua, a man can have but one wife; but he may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is ſtill permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her: but that abſurdity is corrected by refined manners; it being held improper, and even diſgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchaſing wives wore out of faſhion among the ancient Tuſcans; for it was held infamous, that marriage ſhould be the reſult of any motive but mutual love. This at the ſame time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Perſians; for the bride's dowry was ſettled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the ſame reaſon for preſuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico; marriage there being ſolemnized by the prieſt, and the bride's dower ſpecified, which was reſtored in caſe of a ſeparation. In the countries where the Chriſtian religion was firſt propagated, women were faſt advancing to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of faſhion. The pure ſpirit of the goſpel haſtened its downfal; and tho' not prohibited expreſsly, it was however held, that Chriſtianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by ſlow degrees that the female ſex emerged out of ſlavery, to poſſeſs the elevated ſtate they juſtly are intitled to by nature. The practice of expoſing infants among the Greeks, and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depreſſion, even after the cuſtom ceaſed of purchaſing them. It is wiſely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth, becauſe during infancy all depends on her care. As during that period the father is of little uſe to his child, his affection is extremely ſlight till the child begin to prattle and ſhew ſome fondneſs for him. The expoſing an infant therefore ſhows, that the mother was little regarded: if ſhe had been allowed a vote, the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the firſt book of the Iliad, Achilles ſays to A-

gamemnon, who threatened to force from him his miſtreſs Briſeis, " Another thing I will tell thee: record it in thy ſoul. For a wo- " man theſe hands ſhall never fight, with thee nor with thy foes. " Come, ſeize Briſeis: ye Argives, take the prize ye gave. But " beware of other ſpoil, which lies ſtowed in my ſhips on the " ſhore. I will not be plundered farther. If other be thy thoughts, " Atrides, come in arms, a trial make: theſe very ſlaves of thine " ſhall behold thy blood pouring around my ſpear *." The comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are loſt; but manners muſt have been little poliſhed in their time, ſo far as can be conjectured from their tranſlators or imitators, Plautus and Terence. Married women in their comedies are ſometimes introduced, and treated with very little reſpect. A man commonly vents his wrath on his wife, and ſcolds her as the cauſe of the miſconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquiſitive about her huſband's amours, is ſcolded by him in the following words.

* Pope hides that ſentiment as follows.

" Seize on Briſeis, whom the Grecians doom'd
" My prize of war, yet tamely ſee reſum'd;
" And ſeize ſecure; no more Achilles draws
" His conqu'ring ſword in any woman's cauſe.
" The gods command me to forgive the paſt;
" But let this firſt invaſion be the laſt:
" For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'ſt invade,
" Shall ſtream in vengeance on my reeking blade."

Such contempt of the female ſex as expreſſed by Achilles was perhaps thought too groſs for a modern ear without ſome diſguiſe. But did not Pope diſcover, that one capital beauty in Homer is the delineation of ancient manners? At that rate, had it fallen to his ſhare to deſcribe Julius Cæſar, he would have dreſſed him like a modern beau. And after all, in a genteel aſſembly, what a ſavage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen!

" Ni

" Ni mala, ni ſtulta ſis, ni indomita impóſque animi,
" Quod viro eſſe odio videas, tute tibi odio habeas.
" Præter hac ſi mihi tale poſt hunc diem
" Faxis, faxo foris vidua viſas patrem *."

One will not be ſurpriſed, that women in Greece were treated with no great reſpect by their huſbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who paſſes all her time in ſolitude: to be admired, ſhe muſt receive the high poliſh of ſociety. At the ſame time, men of faſhion were ſo much improved in manners as to reliſh ſociety with agreeable women, where ſuch could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, eſpecially in Athens. They ſtudied the temper and taſte of the men, and endeavoured to gain their affection by every winning art. The daily converſations they liſtened to on philoſophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their underſtanding and improved their taſte. Their houſes became agreeable ſchools, where every one might be inſtructed in his own art. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the houſe of Aſpaſia: from her they acquired delicacy of taſte, and in return procured to her public reſpect and reputation. Greece at that time was governed by orators, over whom ſome celebrated courtezans had great influence, and by that means entered deep into the government. It was ſaid of the famous Demoſthenes, " The meaſure he hath meditated on for a year, will

* " Would you be held a wiſe and virtuous ſpouſe,
" And of diſcretion due, obſerve this counſel:
" Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,
" Still let your praiſe or cenſure be the ſame.
" But hearkee, — be this reprimand the laſt:
" If you again offend, no more a wife
" Within theſe walls; — your father has you back."

" be overturned in a day by a woman." It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian courtezans lived in great ſplendor. See in particular Theautontimorumenos, act 3. ſcene 2.

I proceed to the other cauſe of polygamy, mentioned alſo above, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment; and women become old and loſe the prolific quality, not long after the age of maturity in a temperate climate. Theſe circumſtances diſpoſe men of opulence to purchaſe their wives, that they may not be confined to one; and purchaſe they muſt, for no man, without a valuable conſideration, will ſurrender his daughter to be one of many who are deſtined to gratify the carnal appetite of one man. The numerous wives and concubines in Aſiatic harems are all of them purchaſed with money. In the hot climate of Hindoſtan, polygamy is univerſal, and men buy their wives. The ſame obtains in China: after the price is adjuſted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's houſe locked in a ſedan, and the key delivered to him: if he be not ſatisfied with his bargain, he ſends her back at the expence of loſing the ſum he paid for her: if ſatisfied, he feaſts his male friends in one room, and ſhe her female friends in another. A man who has little ſubſtance takes a wife for his ſon from a hoſpital, which ſaves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten, and paſt child-bearing at twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a ſecond wife ought to be permitted, who can bear children. Is then the intereſt of the female ſex to be totally diſregarded in the matrimonial engagement, as if women were intended by nature for beaſts of burden only? But even putting them out of the queſtion, it ought to be conſidered, that a man, by taking a ſecond wife, deprives ſome other of the privilege all men have to be married. The argument indeed would be

be concluſive, were ten females born for one male, as is ſaid to be the caſe in Bantam: but as an equality of males and females is the deſtination of nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authoriſe ſome to uſurp the privilege of others.

Thus in hot climates women remain in the ſame humble and dependent ſtate, in which all women were originally, when all men were ſavages. Women by the law of Hindoſtan are not admitted to be witneſſes, even in a civil cauſe; and I bluſh to acknowledge, that in Scotland the ſame law has not been long in diſuſe.

In contradiction to the climate, Chriſtianity has baniſhed polygamy from Ethiopia, tho' the judges are far from being ſevere upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wiſh to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchaſing each of them. Among the Chriſtians of Congo polygamy is in uſe, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the moſt zealous Chriſtians there, to be altogether irrational: rather than be ſo confined, they would renounce Chriſtianity.

Beſide polygamy, many other cuſtoms depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reaſon, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchaſe a wife, whether among ſavages, or among pampered people in hot climates, the payment of the price completes the marriage, without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies however are ſometimes practiſed. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's houſe with a female ſlave carrying a diſtaff and a ſpindle, importing that ſhe ought to ſpin for the family. Among the ſavages of Canada and of the neighbouring countries, a ſtrap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as ſymbols of

her

her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dreſs the victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her ſlavery, takes her axe, cuts down timber, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the ſalutation ſhe receives is, " It is time to go to reſt." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-ſchool, where young ladies are educated for a year under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their beſt attire to a public aſſembly; which may be termed a matrimonial market, becauſe there young men convene to make a choice. Thoſe who fit themſelves to their fancy, pay the dowry, and over and above gratify the old ſuperintendent for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the iſland of Java, the bride, in token of ſubjection, waſhes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital ceremony. In Ruſſia, the bride preſents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be uſed againſt her when ſhe deſerves to be chaſtiſed; and at the ſame time ſhe pulls off his boots. The preſent Empreſs, prone to reform the rude manners of her ſubjects, has diſcountenanced that ceremony among people of faſhion. Very different were the manners of Peru before the Spaniſh conqueſt. The bridegroom carried ſhoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there purchaſing of wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the ſame principle. It is the cuſtom there for a man to make preſents to his children of rain-deer; and young women, ſuch as have a large ſtock of rain-deer, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for ſuch a wife at a fair, or at their meetings for paying taxes. He carries to the houſe of the young woman's parents, ſome of his relations; being ſolicitous in particular to chuſe an eloquent ſpeaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who muſt wait till he be called in. After drinking ſome ſpirits, brought along for the purpoſe, the ſpokeſman addreſſes the father

father in the moſt humble terms, bowing the knee as if he were introduced to a prince. He ſtyles him, the worſhipful father, the high and mighty father, the beſt and moſt illuſtrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of cauſes and effects, inſtances ſometimes occur of bizarre facts, ſtarting from the chain without any cauſe that can be diſcovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjuſted among the old people, the young couple are ſhut up in a room by themſelves, where they paſs the night in ſtruggling for ſuperiority, which proves a very ſerious work where the bride is reluctant. If ſhe perſevere to the laſt without yielding, the young man is diſcarded; but if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, not leſs ſingular. The men and women ſquat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or maſter of religious ceremonies, piſſes on the bridegroom; who receives the ſtream with eagerneſs, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the ſame ceremony on the bride, who is equally reſpectful. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamſkatkans are ſtill more whimſical. A young man, after making his propoſals, enters into the ſervice of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the *touch*. The young woman is ſwaddled up in leathern thongs; and in that condition is put under the guard of ſome old women. He watches every opportunity of a ſlack guard to uncaſe her, in order to touch what is always the moſt concealed. The bride muſt reſiſt, in appearance at leaſt; and therefore cries out to ſummon her guards; who fall with fury upon the bridegroom, tear his hair, ſcratch his face, and act in violent oppoſition. The attempts of the lover prove ſometimes unſucceſsful for months; but the moment the

touch

touch is atchieved, the bride teſtifies her ſatisfaction, by pronouncing the words *Ni*, *Ni*, with a ſoft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any oppoſition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland negroes is ſingular. So ſoon as preliminaries are adjuſted, the bridegroom with a number of his companions ſet out at night, and ſurround the houſe of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all poſſible reſiſtance, cry aloud for help, but no perſon appears. This reſembles ſtrongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was cuſtomary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horſeback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewiſe on horſeback, give a poſitive refuſal, upon which a mock ſcuffle enſues. The bride, mounted behind her next kinſman, is carried off, and is purſued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud ſhouts. It is not uncommon to ſee on ſuch an occaſion two or three hundred ſturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full ſpeed, croſſing and joſtling, to the no ſmall amuſement of the ſpectators. When they have fatigued themſelves and their horſes, the bridegroom is ſuffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the ſcene is concluded with feaſting and feſtivity. The ſame marriage-ceremony was uſual in Muſcovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus (*a*).

Divorce alſo depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man muſt purchaſe his wife as one does a ſlave; it follows naturally, that he may purchaſe as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleaſure. This law is univerſal, without a ſingle exception. The Jews, who purchaſed their wives, were privileged to divorce them,

(*a*) Lib. 14. cap. 9.

without

without being obliged to aſſign a cauſe (*a*). The negroes purchaſe their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The ſame law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the iſthmus of Darien, in Caribeana, and even in the cold country round Hudſon's bay. All the ſavages of South America who live near the Oroonoko, purchaſe as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them at their pleaſure.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them is privileged to diſmiſs the other without a juſt cauſe. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual conſent. In Lapland, the women who have a ſtock of rain-deer, as above mentioned, make a conſiderable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and conſequently divorce without a juſt cauſe. And when theſe are barred in ſeveral inſtances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends alſo in ſome meaſure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchaſed, and polygamy is indulged, adultery can ſcarce be reckoned a crime in the huſband; and where there are a plurality of wives, ſound ſenſe makes it but a venial crime in any one of them. But as men are the lawgivers, the puniſhment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is generally too ſevere. It is however more or leſs ſevere in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or leſs prone to revenge. The Chineſe are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on ſeverity; the puniſh-

(*a*) Deuteronomy, chap. 24.

ment being only to ſell an adultereſs for a ſlave. The ſame law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An adultereſs among the ancient Egyptians was puniſhed with the loſs of her noſe. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer (*a*). An adultereſs was probably puniſhed more ſeverely. Among the negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but ſlightly puniſhed; except in the kingdom of Benin. There an adultereſs, after a ſevere whipping, is baniſhed; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are beſtow'd on the injured huſband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was extremely rare. An adultereſs was deprived of her hair, expelled from her huſband's houſe, and whipped through the village (*b*). In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always puniſhed with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery is thrown to an elephant to be deſtroy'd. By the law of Moſes, an adultereſs is puniſhed with death, as alſo the adulterer (*c*). Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Lewis Hutin King of France, was hang'd for adultery; and her lovers were flea'd alive. Such were the ſavage manners of thoſe times. There is an old law in Wales, that for defiling the Prince's bed the offender muſt pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickneſs of the finger of a ploughman who has ploughed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when ſitting.

Matrimony between a ſingle pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the ſtricteſt mutual fidelity. Adultery however is a deeper crime in the wife than in the huſband:

(*a*) Odyſſey, book 8. l. 384.

(*b*) Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.

(*c*) Leviticus, xx. 10.

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in him it may happen occaſionally, with little or no alienation of affection; but the ſuperior modeſty of the female ſex is ſuch, that a wife does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modeſty, but over duty to her huſband. Adultery therefore in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double reſpect: it is an alienation of affection from the huſband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a ſpurious iſſue into the family, betraying the huſband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female ſex to an equality with the male ſex, is viſible in the laws of female ſucceſſion that have been eſtabliſhed at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable, that in any country women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much deſpiſed among ſavages for ſo valuable a privilege. The fierceneſs and brutality of the ancient Romans in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts, that women ſhould inherit land, which they cannot defend by the ſword. But women came to be regarded in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female ſucceſſion in land, eſtabliſhed in days of ruſticity, was held to be rigorous and unjuſt when the Romans were more poliſhed. Proprietors of land, ſuch of them as had no ſons, were diſpoſed to evade the law, by ample proviſions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuſe, as termed by the veterans, the *lex Voconia* was made, confining ſuch proviſions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female ſex broke through every legal reſtraint, and eſtabliſhed female ſucceſſion in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous

* Juſtinian, or more properly the lawyers employ'd by him upon that abſurd compilation

barous nations who cruſh'd the Roman power, were not long in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double compoſition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expreſsly prohibited to inherit land; but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this prohibition was in time eluded by the following ſolemnity. The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his ſons, carried her before the commiſſary, ſaying, "My dear child, an ancient and impious cuſtom "bars a young woman from ſucceeding to her father: but as "all my children equally are given me by God, I ought to love "them equally; therefore, my dear child, my will is, that my "effects ſhall divide equally between you and your brethren." In poliſhed ſtates, women are not excluded from ſucceeding even to the crown. Ruſſia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an abſolute as well as in a limited monarchy *.

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compilation the Pandects, is guilty of a groſs error, in teaching, that by the Twelve Tables males and females of the ſame degree ſucceeded equally to land. The *lex Voconia* (which ſee explain'd in *Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies, lib. 6. cap. 15.*) vouches the contrary. And one cannot ſee without pain Juſtinian's error, not only adopted by an illuſtrious modern, but a cauſe aſſigned for it ſo refined and ſubtile as to go quite out of ſight, *L'eſprit de loix, liv. 27. chap. 1.* I venture to affirm, that ſubtile reaſoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people; and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who compoſed the Twelve Tables of law, the ſubtile cauſe aſſigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female ſucceſſion in land, which they certainly did not.

* The kingdom of Gurrah in Hindoſtan was governed by Queen Dargoutté, eminent for ſpirit and beauty. Small as that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and proſperity. Being invaded by Aſaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an elephant, led her troops to battle. Her ſon Rajah Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was by her orders carried from the field. That accident having occaſioned a general

What I have ſaid, regards thoſe nations only where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful: they are not in ſuch eſtimation as to be intitled to a privilege ſo illuſtrious.

Among the Hurons in North America, where the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the ſucceſſion is continued through females, in order to preſerve the royal blood untainted. When the chief dies, his ſon ſucceeds not, but his ſiſter's ſon; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father: and when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the nobleſt matron of the tribe. The ſame rule of ſucceſſion obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Miſſiſippi; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the ſun. On the ſame belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his ſiſter; which, equally with the law mentioned, preſerved the blood of the ſun in the royal family, and did not encroach ſo much upon the natural order of ſucceſſion.

Female ſucceſſion depends in ſome degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, ſucceed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the ſame time is ſo ſcanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raiſe a family by engroſſing a great eſtate in land; and there is nothing but the am-

neral panic, the Queen was left with no more but 300 horſemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire while it could be done with ſafety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is true," ſaid ſhe, "we are overcome in "battle; but not in honour. Shall I, for a lingering ignominious life, loſe a re- "putation that has been my chief ſtudy! Let your gratitude repay now the obli- "gations you owe me: pull out your dagger, and ſave me from ſlavery, by put- "ting an end to my life."

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bition of raiſing a family that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the reſt. The ſame law obtains in Hamburgh, for the ſame reaſons. Extenſive eſtates in land ſupport great families in Britain, a circumſtance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men take care to prevent the law, by making a more equal diſtribution of their effects among their children.

After traverſing a great part of the globe with painful induſtry, will not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where deſpiſed, as they are at preſent among the ſavages of America; that wives, like ſlaves, were procured by barter; that polygamy was univerſal; and that divorce depended on the whim of the huſband? Such concluſion however would be raſh; for upon a more accurate ſcrutiny, an extenſive country is diſcovered, where polygamy never was in faſhion, and where women were from the beginning courted and honoured as among the moſt poliſhed nations. But the reader is humbly requeſted to ſuſpend his curioſity, till he peruſe the following ſketch, concerning the progreſs of manners, which appears to be the proper place for that curious and intereſting ſubject.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progreſs of the female ſex; which is, to trace the different degrees of reſtraint impoſed upon married women in different countries, and at different times in the ſame country; and to aſſign the cauſes of theſe differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are ſuggeſted by uncorrupted nature, men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece anciently, even young women of rank miniſtred to men in bathing.

"While theſe officious tend the rites divine,
"The laſt fair branch of the Neſtorian line,

"Sweet

" Sweet Polycaſté, took the pleaſant toil
" To bath the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil (*a*).

Men and women among the Spartans bathed promiſcuouſly, and wreſtled together ſtark naked. Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even ſeperate beds, but lay promiſcuouſly upon reeds or heath along the walls of the houſe. The ſame cuſtom prevails even at preſent among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, becauſe no man thinks of an act ſo irregular as to attempt her chaſtity. In the Caribbee iſlands adultery was unknown, till European Chriſtians made ſettlements there. At the ſame time, there ſcarce can be any fewel for jealouſy, where men purchaſe their wives, put them away at pleaſure, and even lend them to a friend. But when by ripening ſenſibility a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, and on her attachment to him, jealouſy commences; jealouſy of a rival in her affections. Jealouſy accordingly is a ſymptom of an increaſing eſteem for the female ſex; and that paſſion is viſibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence ſtudy pleaſure: married women become objects of a corrupted taſte; and often fall a ſacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate favourable to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handſome; and when the ancient Greeks made the greateſt figure, they were extremely defective in morals. They became jealous of their honour and of rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of thoſe times, to exclude women from ſociety with men. Their women accor-

(*a*) Odyſſey, book 3. See alſo book 8. line 491.

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dingly were never ſeen in public; and if my memory ſerve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public ſtreet brings on the cataſtrophe in a Greek tragedy. In Hecuba, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuſes herſelf for declining to viſit Polymeſtor, ſaying, "that it is indecent for a woman to look a man in "the face." In the Electra of Sophocles, Antigoné is permitted by her mother Jocaſta to take a view of the Argian army from a high tower: an old man who accompanies her, being alarmed at ſeeing ſome females paſs that way, and afraid of cenſure, prays Antigoné to retire; "for," ſays he, "women are prone to de-"traction; and to them the mereſt trifle is a fruitful ſubject of "converſation *." Spain is a country that ſcarce yields to Greece in fineneſs of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Chriſtianity, were not more pure than thoſe of Greece. By a law of the Viſigoths in Spain, a ſurgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in preſence of her huſband or neareſt relations. By the Salic law (*b*), he who ſqueezes the hand of a free woman ſhall pay a fine of 15 golden ſhillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, that no married woman ought to admit a man to viſit her in abſence of her huſband. Female chaſtity muſt at that time have been extremely feeble, when ſo little truſt was repoſed in the fair ſex.

To treat women in that manner, may poſſibly be neceſſary, where they are in requeſt for no end but to gratify animal love. But where they are intended for the more elevated purpoſes, of being

* Women are not prone to detraction unleſs when denied the comforts of ſociety. The cenſure of Sophocles is probably juſt with reſpect to his countrywomen, becauſe they were lock'd up. Old maids have the character with us of being prone to detraction; but that holds not unleſs they retire from ſociety.

(*b*) Tit. 22.

friends

friends and companions, as well as affectionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and ſpies will never anſwer; for theſe tend to debaſe their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate ſenſes, particularly in all the branches of the moral ſenſe, chaſtity, one of theſe branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and when they are treated with humanity, becomes their ruling principle. In that refined ſtate, women are truſted with their own conduct, and may ſafely be truſted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that ſuch at preſent is generally their caſe in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britany, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the faſhion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This faſhion was introduced much later in England: even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the ſtreets without a maſk. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in faſhion, with which every woman of rank was covered when ſhe went abroad. That faſhion has not been laid aſide above forty years. In Italy, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain the indulging them with ſome liberty is but creeping into faſhion at preſent. In Abyſſinia polygamy is prohibited; and married women of faſhion have by cuſtom obtained the privilege of viſiting their friends, tho' not much with the good-will of many huſbands. It were to be wiſhed, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their hiſtory. The growth of luxury and ſenſuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both ſexes equally diſſolute: wives in that caſe deſerve to be again lock'd up; but the time of ſuch ſeverity is paſt. Then indeed it becomes indecent for the two ſexes to bathe promiſcuouſly. The men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together into the ſame bath, and became ſuch proficients in aſſu-

rance, that men and women did the ſame (*a*). Hadrian prohibited that indecent cuſtom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a ſecond time: but to ſo little purpoſe, that even the primitive Chriſtians made no difficulty to follow the cuſtom: ſuch appetite there is for being *nudus cum nuda*, when juſtified by faſhion. This cuſtom withſtood even the thunder of general councils; and was not dropt till people became more decent, in appearance at leaſt.

In days of innocence, when modeſty is the ruling paſſion of the female ſex, we find great frankneſs in external behaviour; for women who are above ſuſpicion are little ſolicitous about appearances. At the ſame period, and for the ſame reaſon, we find great looſeneſs in writing; witneſs the Queen of Navarre's tales. In the capital of France at preſent, chaſtity, far from being practiſed, is ſcarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumſpect in public: no indecent expreſſion nor inſinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England the women are leſs corrupted than in France; and for that reaſon are not ſo ſcrupulous with reſpect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female ſex in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climes, which inflame animal love in both ſexes equally. In the hot regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchaſed for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of reſtraining them otherwiſe than by locks and bars, after having once taſted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealouſy; not the mind, as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his inſtruments of ſenſual

(*a*) Plutarch, Life of Cato.

pleaſure.

pleaſure. And if women be ſo little virtuous as not to be ſafely truſted with their own conduct, they ought to be lock'd up; for there is no juſt medium between abſolute confinement and abſolute freedom. The Chineſe are ſo jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and ſo great is their diffidence of the female ſex in general, that brothers and ſiſters are not permitted to converſe together. When women are permitted to go abroad, they are ſhut up in a cloſe ſedan into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chineſe Emperor, and the jealouſy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give leſs diſturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindoſtan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aſide except in preſence of their neareſt relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the firſt time he is permitted to ſee her without a veil, is after marriage in his own houſe. In ſeveral hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs as an additional ſecurity; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their uglineſs. But as a woman, deprived of the ſociety of men, is apt to be inflamed even with the *appearance* of a man, ſome jealous nations, refining upon that circumſtance, employ old maids, termed *duennas*, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of faſhion never appear on the ſtreet in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined above thoſe in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to viſit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aſide to let them paſs. A French ſurgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatiſm which had ſeized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected; but he could not get a ſight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as reſulting from the degree of reſtraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely looſe, being calculated for the ſole end of animal pleaſure. They are accompliſhed in ſuch graces and allurements as tend to inflame the ſenſual appetite: they are taught vocal and inſtrumental muſic, with various dances that cannot ſtand the teſt of decency: but no culture is beſtowed on the mind, no moral inſtruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; becauſe ſuch education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of ſenſe, would inſpire them with abhorrence at the being made proſtitutes. In a word, ſo corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any deſire but what is merely ſenſual. The Aſiatic ladies are not even truſted with the management of houſehold affairs, which would afford opportunities for infidelity. In Perſia, ſays Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to chuſe their own dreſs: no lady knows in the morning what gown ſhe is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindoſtan is leſs indecent. They are not taught muſic nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleaſure: they are taught all the graces of external behaviour, particularly to converſe with ſpirit and elegance: they are taught alſo to ſew, to embroider, and to dreſs with taſte. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the conſolation of ſtudying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor would underſtand if they did. Notwithſtanding ſuch care in educating Hindoſtan ladies, their manners, by being ſhut up in a ſeraglio, become extremely looſe: the moſt refined luxury of ſenſe, joined with idleneſs, or with reading love-tales, ſtill worſe than idleneſs, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of perſons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every ſort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of grandees

dees in Conſtantinople are permitted ſometimes to walk abroad for air and exerciſe. A foreigner ſtumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was in the twinkling of an eye ſeized by a briſk girl, with the reſt at her heels: ſhe accoſted him with looſe amorous expreſſions, attempting at the ſame time to expoſe his nakedneſs. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him againſt ſuch vigorous aſſailants; nor could the vehemence of their curioſity be moderated, by repreſenting the ſhame of a behaviour ſo groſsly immodeſt. An old Janizary, ſtanding at a little diſtance, was amazed: his Mahometan baſhfulneſs would not ſuffer him to lay hands upon women; but with a Stentorian voice he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of proſtitutes, not of modeſt women; and urging them to free the man from ſuch harpies.—All in vain (*a*).

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women are treated as rational beings. Theſe manners however depend in ſome meaſure upon the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employ'd in the different branches of republican government, and ſtill a greater number by rotation, the males, who have little time to ſpare from public buſineſs, feel nothing of that languor and wearineſs which to the idle make the moſt frivolous amuſements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their huſbands do thoſe of the ſtate: whence it is, that ſimplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners of the female ſex during the flouriſhing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths; and ſuch are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland. In a monarchy, government employs but a few hands; and thoſe who

(*a*) Obſervations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks.

are

are not occupied with public buſineſs, give reins to gallantry, and to other deſires that are eaſily gratified. Women of figure, on the other hand, corrupted by opulence and ſuperficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgement; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman thus diſciplined meet together, they ſoon grow particular: the man is idle, the woman frank; and both equally addicted to pleaſure. Such commerce muſt in its infancy be diſguiſed under the appearance of virtue and religion: the miſtreſs is exalted into a deity, the lover ſinks into a humble votary; and this artificial relation produces a bombaſt ſort of love, with ſentiments that ſoar high above nature. Duke John de Bourbonnois, ann. 1414, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with ſixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of Engliſh knights, for glorifying the beautiful angel he worſhipped. René, ſtyled *King of Sicily and Jeruſalem*, obſerves, in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly uſeful in furniſhing opportunities to young knights and eſquires to diſplay their proweſs before their miſtreſſes. He adds, "that every ceremony regarding "tournaments is contrived to honour the ladies. It belongs to "them to inſpect the arms of the combatants, and to diſtribute "the rewards. A knight or eſquire who defames any of them "is beat and bruiſed till the injured lady condeſcend to intercede "for him." Remove once a female out of her proper ſphere, and it is eaſy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, profeſſed himſelf knight to Anne Queen of France. She ſummoned him to prove himſelf her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence againſt Henry VIII. of England. And, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's ſummons was thought to have been his chief motive in declaring war againſt Henry his brother-in-law. The famous Gaſton de Foix, who commanded the French troops

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at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name the officers, and even ſome private men, recommending to them their country and their honour; adding, "that he would ſee "what they would perform for the love of their miſtreſſes." During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monſieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied to his arm a garter of Mademoiſelle de Guerchi, his miſtreſs.

But when unlawful commerce between the ſexes turns common, and conſequently familiar, the bombaſt ſtyle appears ridiculous, and the ſenſual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing of love remains but the name; and as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleaſure, it ſoon ſinks into diſguſt when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue or of talents appears abſurd: true love is laughed out of countenance; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but ſenſual enjoyment, become ſo careleſs of their infants, as even, without bluſhing, to employ mercenary nurſes *. Such a courſe of life cannot fail to ſink

* Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cauſe de cela même, la plûpart vivent célibataires, dans le ſein même du marriage. Mais ſi l'envie de ſe voir perpetuer dans une branche de deſcendans, les porte à ſe conformer aux vœux de l'hymen, la population, dans cette claſſe, n'en eſt pas plus avancée, parce que leur delicateſſe rend inutile leur propagation; car, parmi les femmes du premier et ſecond rang en France, combien y en a-t-il qui nouriſſent leurs enfans? Il ſeroit facile de les compter. Ce devoir indiſpenſable de mere, a ceſſé chez nous d'en être un. *Les Intereſts de la France, vol.* 1. *p.* 234. — [*In Engliſh thus:* "The women of a certain rank in "France find that they loſe too much by childbearing; and for that reaſon, even "though

ſink them into contempt: marriages are diſſolved as ſoon as contracted; and the ſtate is fruſtrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A ſtate enriched by conqueſt or commerce declines gradually into luxury and ſenſual pleaſure: manners are corrupted, decency baniſhed, and chaſtity becomes a mere name. What a ſcene of rank and diſſolute pleaſure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and in thoſe of the Roman emperors!

Gratitude to my female readers, if I ſhall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this ſketch with a ſcene that may afford them inſtruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonal ſtate, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony among ſavages, having no object but propagation and ſlavery, is a very humbling ſtate for the female ſex: but delicate organization, great ſenſibility, lively imagination, with ſweetneſs of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified ſociety with men; which is, to be their boſom-friends and companions. In the common courſe of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety: very little culture is beſtow'd on the head; and ſtill leſs on the heart, if it be not the art of hiding paſſion. Education ſo ſlight and ſuperficial is far from ſeconding the purpoſe of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of ſenſe. Due cultivation of the female mind,

" though married, live in a ſtate of celibacy. But population is not advanced, e-
" ven by thoſe who, from a deſire of ſeeing themſelves perpetuated in their de-
" ſcendents, conform to the purpoſe of marriage; for their delicacy counterba-
" lances their fertility. How few of the firſt and ſecond rank of women in France
" ſuckle their children? It would be eaſy to count the number. This indiſpenſable
" duty of a mother has now ceaſed to be one with us."]——As ſuch woful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuouſneſs, we may take it for granted, that the ſame obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

would

would add greatly to the happineſs of the males, and ſtill more to that of the females. Time runs on; and when youth and beauty vaniſh, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, finds in herſelf a lamentable void, occaſioning diſcontent and peeviſhneſs. But a woman who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains in her decline an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: ſhe is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of ſuch refined education, contributing no leſs to public good than to private happineſs. A man, who at preſent muſt degrade himſelf into a fop or a coxcomb in order to pleaſe the women, would ſoon diſcover, that their favour is not to be gained but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life; and the two ſexes, inſtead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual eſteem would be to each a ſchool of urbanity; and mutual deſire of pleaſing would give ſmoothneſs to their behaviour, delicacy to their ſentiments, and tenderneſs to their paſſions.

Married women in particular, deſtin'd by nature to take the lead in educating their children, would no longer be the greateſt obſtruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and diſorderly manner of living. Even upon the breaſt, infants are ſuſceptible of impreſſions *; and the mother hath opportunities

* May not a habit of chearfulneſs be produced in an infant by being trained up among chearful people? An agreeable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurſe. Such is the connection between the mind and body as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expreſſion of the internal diſpoſition; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother? Its tender parts makes it ſuſceptible of the ſlighteſt impreſſions. When a woman is breeding, ſhe ought to be doubly careful of her temper; and in particular to indulge no ideas but what are chearful, and no ſentiments but what are kindly.

without end of inſtilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the Roman republic, never returned from war without meriting marks of diſtinction. Others behaved valliantly, in order to acquire glory: he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleaſure to his mother. The delight ſhe took in hearing him praiſed, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him in his own opinion the happieſt perſon in the univerſe. Epaminondas accounted it his greateſt felicity, that his father and mother were ſtill alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the cauſes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciouſly aſcribed to Tacitus, becauſe obviouſly it is not his ſtyle, the method of education in Rome, while it flouriſhed as a commonwealth, is deſcribed in a lively manner. I ſhall endeavour to give the ſenſe in Engliſh, becauſe it chiefly concerns the fair ſex. "In that age, children were ſuckled, not in the hut of a mer-" cenary nurſe, but by the chaſte mother who bore them. Their e-" ducation during nonage was in her hands; and it was her chief " care to inſtil into them every virtuous principle. In her pre-" ſence, a looſe word or an improper action were ſtrictly prohi-" bited. She ſuperintended, not only their ſerious ſtudies, but " even their amuſements; which were conducted with decency " and moderation. In that manner the Gracchi, educated by " Cornelia their mother, and Auguſtus, by Attia his mother, ap-" peared in public with untainted minds; fond of glory, and " prepared to make a figure in the world." In the expedition of the illuſtrious Bertrand du Gueſelin againſt Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile, the governor of a town, upon being ſummoned to give it up, made the following anſwer, "That they might be con-" quered, but would never tamely yield; that their fathers had " ight t n to prefer a glorious death before a diſhonourable " their mothers had not only educated them in " theſe

" theſe ſentiments, but were ready to put in practice the leſſons " they had inculcated." Let the moſt profound politician ſay, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods, that their huſbands and ſons had died glorioufly, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were ſo aſhamed of themſelves, that they durſt not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited to be contended for by the female ſex!

By ſuch refin'd education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inſpires for making us happy, and for ſoftening the diſtreſſes of chance: it would fill deliciouſly the whole ſoul with tender amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable: how different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between ſuch a pair emulation is reverſed, by an ardent deſire in each to be ſurpaſſed by the other.

Cultivation of the female mind is not of great importance in a republic, where men paſs little of their time with women. Such cultivation where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a great misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miſerable condition. But in an opulent monarchy where polygamy is prohibited, female education is of high importance, not ſingly with reſpect to private happineſs, but with reſpect to the ſociety in general.

APPENDIX.

Concerning Propagation of Animals, and Care of their Offspring.

THE natural hiſtory of animals with reſpect to pairing, and care of their offspring, is ſuſceptible of more elucidation than could regularly be introduced into the ſketch itſelf, where it makes but a ſingle argument. Loth to neglect a ſubject that eminently diſplays the wiſdom and benevolence of Providence, I gladly embrace the preſent opportunity, however ſlight, to add what further occurs upon it. Buffon, in many large volumes, beſtows ſcarce a thought on that favourite ſubject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is ſtill leſs excuſable, conſidering that to diſplay the conduct of Providence was their ſole purpoſe in writing on natural hiſtory.

The inſtinct of pairing is beſtow'd on every ſpecies of animals to which it is neceſſary for rearing their young; and on no other ſpecies. All wild birds pair: but with a remarkable difference between ſuch as place their neſts on trees, and ſuch as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind, and without feathers, require the nurſing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the neſt, and cheers her with a ſong. As ſoon as the young are hatched, ſinging yields to a more neceſſary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous iſſue, a taſk that requires both parents.

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other inacceſſible ſpots. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year

year round; and the ſame pair procreate year after year. This at leaſt is the caſe of eagles: the male and female hunt together, unleſs during incubation, during which time the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a ſingle pair never are ſeen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent diſcord in a ſociety confined to a narrow ſpace. This is the caſe particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female ſit on the eggs alternately, and divide the care of feeding their young.

Partridges, plovers, pheaſants, peafowl, grouſe, and other kinds that place their neſts on the ground, have the inſtinct of pairing; but differ from ſuch as build on trees in the following particular, that after the female is impregnated, ſhe completes her taſk without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, ſhe chuſes a ſafe ſpot for her neſt, where ſhe can find plenty of worms and graſs-ſeed at hand. And her young, as ſoon as hatched, take foot, and ſeek food for themſelves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the deſertion of their mates, break the eggs if they ſtumble on them. Eider ducks pair like other birds that place their neſts on the ground; and the female finiſhes her neſt with down plucked from her own breaſt. If the neſt be deſtroy'd for the down, which is remarkably warm and elaſtic, ſhe makes another neſt as before. If ſhe be robb'd a ſecond time, ſhe makes a third neſt; but the male furniſhes the down. A lady of ſpirit obſerved, that the Eider duck may give a leſſon to many a married woman, who is more diſpoſed to pluck her huſband than herſelf. The black game never pair: in ſpring the cock on an eminence crows, and claps his wings; and all the females within hearing inſtantly reſort to him.

Pairing birds, excepting thoſe of prey, flock together in February,

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in order to chuſe their mates. They ſoon diſperſe; and are not ſeen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on graſs. To ſuch it would be uſeleſs; as the female gives ſuck to her young while ſhe herſelf is feeding. If M. Buffon deſerve credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on graſs, and have but one litter in a year.

Beaſts of prey, ſuch as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to ſhift for herſelf and for her young; which is a laborious taſk, and often ſo unſucceſsful as to ſhorten the life of many of them. Pairing is eſſential to birds of prey, becauſe incubation leaves the female no ſufficient time to hunt for food. Pairing is not neceſſary to beaſts of prey, becauſe their young can bear a long faſt. Add another reaſon, that they would multiply ſo faſt by pairing as to prove troubleſome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight deſperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely deſcribed by Lucretius. Nor is it unuſual for ſeven or eight lions to wage bloody war for a ſingle female.

The ſame reaſon that makes pairing neceſſary for gregarious birds, obtains with reſpect to gregarious quadrupeds; thoſe eſpecially who ſtore up food for winter, and during that ſeaſon live in common. Diſcord among ſuch would be attended with worſe conſequences than even among lions and bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with reſpect to pairing, reſemble birds that place their neſts on the ground. As ſoon as the young are produced, the males abandon their ſtock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to viſit them while they are ſuckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair as well as ſeveral of the monkey-kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural hiſtory of theſe animals;

mals; but it would appear that the young require the nurſing care of both parents.

Seals have a ſingular economy. Polygamy ſeems to be a law of nature among them, as a male aſſociates with ſeveral females. The ſea-turtle has no occaſion to pair, as the female concludes her taſk by laying her eggs in the ſand. The young are hatched by the ſun; and immediately crawl to the ſea.

In every other branch of animal economy concerning the continuance of the ſpecies, the hand of Providence is equally conſpicuous. The young of pairing birds are produced in the ſpring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardſhips of that rigorous ſeaſon. Such early production is in particular favourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the ſpring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of paſſage.

Tho' the time of geſtation varies conſiderably in the different quadrupeds that feed on graſs, yet the female is regularly delivered early in ſummer, when graſs is in plenty. The mare admits the ſtallion in ſummer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A ſheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when graſs begins to ſpring. Theſe animals love ſhort graſs, upon which a mare or a cow would ſtarve *. The rutting-ſeaſon of the red deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: it continues for three weeks, during which time the male runs from female to female without intermiſſion. The female

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes paſturing in a hilly country pitch early on ſome ſnug ſpot, where they may drop their young with ſafety. And hence the riſk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: many lambs periſh by being dropped in improper places.

brings

brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow deer brings forth at the ſame time. The ſhe-aſs is in ſeaſon beginning of ſummer; but ſhe bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to ſummer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: the female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other ſeaſon; and the ſhe-lion brings forth about the ſame time. Of this early birth there is one evident advantage, hinted above: the young have time to grow ſo firm as eaſily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to gueſs what probably would be the time of rutting, ſummer would be named, eſpecially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that economy would be pernicious, throwing the time of delivery to an improper ſeaſon for warmth, as well as for food. Wiſely is it ordered, that the delivery ſhould conſtantly be at the beſt ſeaſon for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that ſtore up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with reſpect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The ſame economy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the ſame kind.

One rule takes place among all brute animals, without a ſingle exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the ſame time. The time of geſtation is ſo unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood upon hand can provide for themſelves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, tho' many litters are produced in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but ſhe ſuckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themſelves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preſerve their young from harm is a beautiful inſtance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, ſhe puts herſelf in the way of being hunted, and leads them away

way from her fawn. The lapwing is no leſs ingenious: if a perſon approach, ſhe flies about, retiring always from her neſt. A partridge is extremely artful: ſhe hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the perſon approach, and hops again. A hen, timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: ſhe darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roe-buck defends its young with reſolution and courage. So doth a ram; and ſo do many other quadrupeds.

It is obſerved by an ingenious writer (*a*), that nature ſports in the colour of domeſtic animals, in order that men may the more readily diſtinguiſh their own. It is not eaſy to ſay, why colour is more varied in ſuch animals, than in thoſe which remain in the ſtate of nature: I can only ſay, that the cauſe aſſigned is not ſatisfactory. One is ſeldom at a loſs to diſtinguiſh one animal from another; and Providence never interpoſes to vary the ordinary courſe of nature, for an end ſo little neceſſary as to make the diſtinction ſtill more obvious. Such interpoſition would beſide have a bad effect, by encouraging inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely: may it not be hoped, that they will excite curioſity in thoſe who reliſh natural hiſtory? The field is rich, tho' little cultivated; and I know no other branch of natural hiſtory that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.

(*a*) Pennant.

SKETCH VII.

Progreſs of MANNERS.

THere are peculiarities in the appearance, in the expreſſions, in the actions, of ſome perſons, which, in oppoſition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*. Such peculiarities in the bulk of a nation, by which it differs from other nations, or from itſelf at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*. Manners therefore ſignify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain perſon, or to a certain nation. The term is not applied to mankind in general; except perhaps in contradiſtinction to other beings.

Manners are diſtinguiſhed from morals; but in what reſpect has not been clearly explained. Do not the ſame actions relate to both? Certainly; but in different reſpects: an action conſidered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; conſidered as characteriſtical of a perſon, or of a people, it belongs to manners.

Manners peculiar to certain tribes and to certain governments, fall under other branches of this work. The intention of the preſent ſketch is, to trace out the manners of nations, in the different ſtages of their progreſs, from infancy to maturity. I am far from regretting, that manners produced by climate, by ſoil, and by other permanent cauſes, fall not under my plan: I ſhould indeed

deed make but a poor figure upon a ſubject that has been learnedly diſcuſſed by the greateſt genius of the preſent age (*a*).

I begin with external appearance, being the firſt thing that draws attention. The human countenance hath a greater variety of expreſſions than that of any other animal; and ſome perſons differ widely from the generality in theſe expreſſions. The ſame variety is obſervable in human geſtures; and the ſame peculiarity in particular perſons, ſo as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by ſo ſlight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat: ſome men are known even by the ſound of their feet. Whole nations are diſtinguiſhable by the ſame peculiarities. And yet there is leſs variety in looks and geſtures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men left to the impulſes of pure nature: man, an imitative animal, is prone to copy others; and by imitation, external behaviour is nearly uniform among thoſe who ſtudy to be agreeable; witneſs people of faſhion in France. I am acquainted with a blind man, who, without moving his feet, is conſtantly balancing from ſide to ſide, excited probably by ſome internal impulſe. Had he been endowed with eyeſight, he would have imitated the manners of others. I reſt upon theſe outlines: to enter fully into the ſubject would be an endleſs work; diſproportioned at any rate to the narrowneſs of my plan.

Dreſs muſt not be omitted, becauſe it enters into external appearance. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themſelves. Man can clothe himſelf; and he is endowed beſide with an appetite for dreſs, no leſs natural than an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned in degree to its uſe: in cold climates it is vigorous; in hot climates, extremely faint.

(*a*) Monteſquieu.

Savages muſt go naked till they learn to cover themſelves; and they ſoon learn where covering is neceſſary. The Patagonians, who go naked in a bitter-cold climate, muſt be woefully ſtupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is ſaid, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much ſurpaſs the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Modeſty is another cauſe for clothing: few ſavages expoſe the whole of the body without covering. It gives no high idea of Grecian modeſty, that at the Olympic games people wreſtled and run races ſtark naked.

There is a third cauſe for clothing, which is, the pleaſure it affords. A fine woman, ſeen naked once in her life, is a deſirable object; deſire being inflamed by novelty. But let her go naked for a month; how much more charming will ſhe appear, when dreſſed with propriety and elegance! Cloathing is ſo eſſential to health, that to be leſs agreeable than nakedneſs would argue an incongruity in our nature. Savages probably at firſt thought of cloathing as a protection only againſt the weather; but they ſoon diſcovered a beauty in dreſs: men led the way, and women followed. Such ſavages as go naked, paint their bodies, excited by the ſame fondneſs for ornament, that our women ſhew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore earrings as well as the women (*a*). When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were ſumptuous in dreſs: they wore looſe robes, floating in the air; had long hair covered with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious ſtones: they painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature. As authors are ſilent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being ſhut up, as at preſent, in ſeraglios. Very

(*a*) Exod. xxxii. 2.

different

different was the caſe of Athenian ladies, after polygamy was baniſhed from Greece. They conſumed the whole morning at the toilette; employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the ſkin: they laid red even upon their lips, and took great care of their teeth: their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and ſpread upon the ſhoulders: their dreſs was elegant, and artfully contrived to ſet off a fine ſhape. Such is the influence of appetite for dreſs: vanity could not be the ſole motive, as Athenian ladies were never ſeen in public. We learn from St Gregory, that women in his time dreſſed their heads extremely high; environing them with many treſſes of falſe hair, diſpoſed in knots and buckles, ſo as to reſemble a regular fortification. Joſephus reports, that the Jewiſh ladies powdered their hair with gold duſt; a faſhion that was carried from Aſia to Rome. The firſt writer who mentions white powder for the hair, the ſame we uſe at preſent, is L'Etoile, in his journal for the year 1593. He relates, that nuns walked the ſtreets of Paris curled and powdered. That faſhion ſpread by degrees through Europe. For many years after the civil wars in France, it was the faſhion in Paris to wear boots and ſpurs with a long ſword: a gentleman was not in full dreſs without theſe accoutrements. The ſword continues an article of dreſs, tho' it diſtinguiſhes not a gentleman from his valet. To ſhow that a taſte for dreſs and ornament is deeply rooted in human nature, ſavages diſplay that taſte upon the body, having no covering to diſplay it upon. Seldom is a child left to nature: it is deprived of a teſticle, a finger, a tooth; or its ſkin is engraved with figures.

Cloathing hath no ſlight influence, even with reſpect to morals. I venture to affirm, at the hazard of being thought paradoxical, that nakedneſs is more friendly to chaſtity than covering. Adultery is unknown among ſavages, even in hot climates where they have ſcarce any covering. A woman dreſſed with taſte is a more

deſirable

deſirable object than one who always goes naked. Dreſs beſide gives play to the imagination, which pictures to itſelf many ſecret beauties, that vaniſh when rendered familiar by ſight: if a lady accidentally diſcover half a leg, imagination is inſtantly inflamed, tho' an actreſs appearing in breeches is beheld with indifference: a naked Venus makes not ſuch an impreſſion, as when a garter only is diſcovered. In Sparta, men and women lived together without any reſerve: public baths were common to both; and in certain games they danced and combated together naked as when born. In a later period, the Spartan dames were much corrupted; occaſioned, as authors ſay, by a ſhameful freedom of intercourſe between the ſexes. But remark, that corruption was not confined to the female ſex, men having degenerated as much from their original manhood as women from their original chaſtity; and I have no difficulty to maintain, that gold and ſilver, admitted contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, were what corrupted both ſexes. Opulence could not fail to have the ſame effect there that it has every where; which is to excite luxury and ſenſuality. The Spartans accordingly, ſhaking off auſterity of manners, abandoned themſelves to pleaſure: the moſt expenſive furniture, the ſofteſt beds, ſuperb tapeſtry, precious vaſes, exquiſite wines, delicious viands, were not now too delicate for an effeminate Spartan, once illuſtrious for every manly virtue. Lycurgus underſtood human nature better than the writers do who carp at him. It was his intention, to make his countrymen ſoldiers, not whining lovers: and he juſtly thought, that familiar intercourſe between the ſexes would confine their appetites within the bounds of nature; an uſeful leſſon to women of faſhion in our days, who expoſe their nakedneſs in order to attract and enflame lovers. What juſtifies this reaſoning is, the aſcendant that Spartan dames had over their huſbands while the laws of Lycurgus were in vigour: they in effect ruled the ſtate as well as their own families. Such aſcendant

ſcendant cannot be obtained nor preſerved but by ſtrict virtue: a woman of looſe manners may be the object of looſe deſire; but ſeldom will ſhe gain an aſcendant over any man, and never over her huſband. Among no people was there more freedom of intercourſe than among the ancient Germans: males and females ſlept promiſcuouſly round the walls of their houſes; and yet we never read of an attempt upon a married woman. The ſame holds true of the Scotch highlanders.

Cleanlineſs is an article in external appearance. Whether it be inherent in the nature of man, or only a refinement of poliſhed nations, may at firſt ſight appear doubtful. What pleads for the former is, that cleanlineſs is remarkable in ſeveral nations that have made little progreſs in the arts of life. The ſavages of the Caribbee iſlands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the iſland Otaheite, or King George's iſland, both ſexes are cleanly: they bathe frequently, never eat nor drink without waſhing before and after, and their garments as well as their perſons are kept free of ſpot or blemiſh. Ammianus Marcellinus, deſcribing the Gauls, ſays, that they were cleanly; and that even the pooreſt women were never ſeen with dirty garments. The negroes, particularly thoſe of Ardrah in the ſlave-coaſt, have a ſcrupulous regard to cleanlineſs. They waſh morning and evening, and perfume themſelves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, in Guinea, women are employ'd to keep the ſtreets clean; and in that reſpect they are not outdone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents; during which time they never waſh. Dirtineſs muſt appear diſmal to that people, as to us *. But inſtances are

* Many animals are remarkable for cleanlineſs. Beavers are ſo, and ſo are cats. This muſt be natural. Tho' a taſte for cleanlineſs is not remarkable in dogs, yet like men they learn to be cleanly.

no

no leſs numerous that favour the other ſide of the queſtion. Amminianus Marcellinus reports of the Huns, that they wore the ſame coat till it fell to pieces with dirt and rottenneſs. Plan Carpin, who viſited the Tartars anno 1246, ſays, "That they never "waſh face nor hands; that they never clean a diſh, a pot, nor "a garment; that, like ſwine, they make food of every thing, not "excepting the vermin that crawl on them." The preſent people of Kamſkatka anſwer to that deſcription in every article. The naſtineſs of North-American ſavages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, paſſes all conception. As they never change their garments till they fall to rags, nor ever think of waſhing them, they are eat up with vermin. The Eſquimaux and many other tribes are equally naſty.

As cleanneſs requires attention and induſtry, the cleanlineſs of ſome ſavages muſt be the work of nature; and the dirtineſs of others muſt proceed from indolence counteracting nature. In fact, cleanlineſs is agreeable to all; and naſtineſs diſagreeable: no perſon prefers dirt; and even thoſe who are the moſt accuſtomed to it, are pleaſed with a cleanly appearance in others. It is true, that a taſte for cleanneſs, like that for order, for ſymmetry, for congruity, is extremely faint during its infancy among ſavages. Its ſtrongeſt antagoniſt is indolence, which ſavages indulge to exceſs: the great fatigue they undergo in hunting, makes them fond of eaſe at home; and dirtineſs, when once habitual, is not eaſily conquered. But cleanlineſs improves gradually with manners, and makes a figure in every induſtrious nation. Nor is a taſte for cleanneſs beſtow'd on man in vain: its final cauſe is conſpicuous, cleanneſs being extremely wholeſome, and naſtineſs no leſs unwholeſome *.

Thus

* The plague, peſtilential fevers, and other putrid diſeaſes, were more frequent in

Thus it appears, that a taſte for cleanneſs is inherent in our nature. I ſay more: cleanlineſs is evidently a branch of propriety, and conſequently a ſelf-duty. The performance is rewarded with approbation; and the neglect is puniſhed with contempt (*a*).

A taſte for cleanneſs is not equally diſtributed among all men; nor indeed is any branch of the moral ſenſe equally diſtributed: and if by nature one perſon be more cleanly than another, a whole nation may be ſo. I judge that to be the caſe of the Japaneſe, ſo finically clean as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtineſs. Their inns are not an exception, nor their little houſes, in which water is always at hand for waſhing after the operation. I judged it to be alſo the caſe of the Engliſh, who, high and low, rich and poor, are remarkable for cleanlineſs all the world over; and I have often amuſed myſelf with ſo ſingular a reſemblance between iſlanders, removed at the greateſt diſtance from each other. But I was forc'd to abandon the reſemblance, upon a diſcovery that the Engliſh have not always been ſo cleanly as at preſent. Many centuries ago, as

in Europe formerly than at preſent; eſpecially in great cities, where multitudes were crowded together in ſmall houſes, and narrow ſtreets. Paris, in the days of Henry IV. occupied not the third part of its preſent ſpace, and yet contained nearly the ſame number of inhabitants; and in London the houſes are much larger, and the ſtreets wider, than before the great fire, 1666. There is alſo a remarkable alteration in point of diet. Formerly, people of rank lived on ſalt meat the greater part of the year: at preſent, freſh meat is common all the year round. Pot-herbs and roots are now a conſiderable article of food: about London in particular the conſumption at the Revolution was not the ſixth part of what it is now. Add the great conſumption of tea and ſugar, which I am told by phyſicians to be no inconſiderable antiſeptics. But the chief cauſe of all is cleanlineſs, which is growing more and more univerſal, eſpecially in the city of London. In Conſtantinople, putrid diſeaſes reign as much as ever; not from unhealthineſs in the climate, but from the narrowneſs and naſtineſs of the ſtreets.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 10.

recorded in monkiſh hiſtory, one cauſe of the averſion the Engliſh had to the Danes, was their cleanlineſs: they combed their hair, and put on a clean ſhirt once a-week. And the celebrated Eraſmus, who viſited England in the reign of Henry VIII. complains of the naſtineſs and ſlovenly habits of its people; aſcribing to that cauſe the frequent plagues which at that time infeſted them. "Their "floors," ſays he, "are commonly of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes, "under which lies unmoleſted a collection of beer, greaſe, frag- "ments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and of every "thing that is nauſeous (*a*)." A change ſo extraordinary in the taſte and manners of the Engliſh, rouſes our curioſity; and I flatter myſelf that the following cauſe will be ſatisfactory. A ſavage, remarkably indolent at home, tho' not inſenſible of his dirtineſs, cannot rouſe up activity ſufficient to attempt a ſerious purgation; and would be at a loſs where to begin. The induſtrious, on the contrary, are improved in neatneſs and propriety by the art or manufacture that conſtantly employs them: they are never reduced to purge the ſtable of Augeas; for being prone to action, they ſuffer not dirt to reſt unmoleſted. Induſtrious nations accordingly, all the world over, are the moſt cleanly. Arts and induſtry had long flouriſhed in Holland, where Eraſmus was born and educated: the people were clean above all their neighbours, becauſe they were induſtrious above all their neighbours; and upon that account the dirtineſs of England could not fail to ſtrike a Hollander. At the period mentioned, induſtry was as great a ſtranger to England as cleanlineſs: from which conſideration, may it not fairly be inferred, that the Engliſh are indebted for their cleanlineſs to the great progreſs of induſtry among them in later times? If this inference hold, it places induſtry in an amiable light. The Spaniards, who

(*a*) Epiſt. 432.

are

are indolent to a degree, are to this day as dirty as the Engliſh were formerly. Madrid, their capital, is nauſeouſly naſty: heaps of unmoleſted dirt in every ſtreet raiſe in that warm climate a peſtiferous ſteam, which threatens to knock down every ſtranger. A purgation was lately ſet on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not eaſily reclaimed: to promote induſtry is the only effectual remedy *. The naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Liſbon before the late earthquake was intolerable; and ſo is at preſent the naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Cadiz.

Tho' induſtry be the chief promoter of cleanlineſs, yet it is ſeldom left to operate alone: other cauſes mix, ſome to accelerate the progreſs, ſome to retard it. The moiſture of the Dutch climate has a conſiderable influence in promoting cleanlineſs; and joined with induſtry produces a ſurpriſing neatneſs and cleanlineſs among people of buſineſs: men of figure and faſhion, who generally reſort to the Hague, the ſeat of government, are not ſo cleanly. On the other hand, the French are leſs cleanly than the Engliſh, tho' not leſs induſtrious. But the lower claſſes of people, being in England more at their eaſe than in France, have a greater taſte for living well, and in particular for keeping themſelves clean.

A beard gives to the countenance a rough and fierce air, ſuited to the manners of a rough and fierce people. The ſame face without

* Till the year 1760, there was not a privy in Madrid, tho' it is plentifully ſupplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the ſtreet, where it was gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation, privies were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, tho' long accuſtomed to an arbitrary government, reſented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and ſtruggled vigorouſly againſt it. The phyſicians were the moſt violent oppoſers: they remonſtrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the ſtreets, a fatal ſickneſs would enſue; becauſe the putreſcent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

a beard appears milder; for which reaſon, a beard becomes unfaſhionable in a poliſhed nation. Demoſthenes the orator lived in the ſame period with Alexander the Great, at which time the Greeks begun to leave off beards. A buſt however of that orator, found in Herculaneum, has a beard; which muſt either have been done for him when he was young, or from reluctance in an old man to a new faſhion. Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily in the 454th year after the building of Rome. And it muſt relate to the time following that period, what Aulus Gellius ſays (*a*), that people accuſed of any crime were prohibited to ſhave their beards till they were abſolved. From Hadrian, downward, the Roman Emperors wore beards. Julius Capitolinus reproaches the Emperor Verus for cutting his beard, at the inſtigation of a concubine. All the Roman generals wore beards in Juſtinian's time (*b*). When the Pope ſhaved his beard, it was reckoned a manifeſt apoſtaſy by the Greek church; becauſe Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt were always drawn with beards by the Greek and Latin painters. Upon the dawn of ſmooth manners in France, the beaus cut their beards into ſhapes, and curled their whiſkers. That faſhion produced a whimſical effect, viz. that men of gravity left off beards altogether: a beard in its natural ſhape was too fierce, even for them; and they could not for ſhame copy after the beaus.

Language, when brought to any perfection among a poliſhed people, may juſtly be conſidered as one of the fine arts; and in that view is handled above. But it belongs to the preſent ſketch, conſidered as a branch of external behaviour. Every part of external behaviour is influenced by temper and diſpoſition, and

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 4.

(*b*) Procopii Hiſtoria Vandalica, lib. 2.

language

language more than any other part. In Elements of Criticiſm (*a*) it is obſerved, that an emotion in many inſtances bears a reſemblance to its cauſe. The like holds univerſally in all the natural ſounds prompted by paſſion. Let a paſſion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, ſtill it holds, that the natural ſound prompted by it is in the ſame tone: and hence the reaſon why theſe natural ſounds are the ſame in all languages. Some ſlight reſemblance of the ſame kind is diſcoverable in many artificial ſounds. The language of a ſavage is harſh; of polite people, ſmooth; and of women, ſoft and muſical. The tongues of ſavage nations abound in gutturals, or in naſals: yet one would imagine that ſuch words, pronounced with difficulty, would be avoided by ſavages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and ſuggeſts to ſavages harſh ſounds, conformable to their roughneſs and cruelty. The Eſquimaux have a language compoſed of the harſheſt gutturals; and the tongues of the northern European nations are not remarkably more ſmooth. The Scotch peaſants are a frank and plain people; and their dialect is in the tone of their character. The Huron tongue hath ſtatelineſs and energy above moſt known languages; and the Hurons ſtill retain a certain elevation of mind, which is more conformable to the majeſty of their diſcourſe, than to their preſent low condition. Thus the manners of a people may in ſome meaſure be gathered from their language. Nay manners may frequently be gathered from ſingle words. The Hebrew word LECHOM ſignifies both *food* and *fighting*; and TEREPH ſignifies both *food* and *plunder*. KARAB ſignifies *to draw near to one*, and ſignifies alſo *to fight*. The Greek word LEIA, which ſignified originally *ſpoil procured by war or piracy*, came to ſignify *wealth*. And the great variety of Greek words

(*a*) Chap. 2. part 6.

ſignifying

ſignifying *good* and *better*, ſignified originally *ſtrong* and *violent*.

Government, according to its different kinds, hath conſiderable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarſe; in a republic, manly and plain; in a monarchy, courteous and inſinuating; in deſpotiſm, imperious with reſpect to inferiors, and humble with reſpect to ſuperiors. The government of the Greek empire is well repreſented in Juſtinian's edicts, termed *Novellæ Conſtitutiones*, the ſtyle of which is ſtiff, formal, and affectedly ſtately; but deſtitute of order, of force, and of ligament. About three centuries ago, Tuſcany was filled with ſmall republics, who ſpoke a dialect manly and plain. Its rough tones were purged off when united under the Great Duke of Tuſcany; by which means the Tuſcan dialect has arrived nearer to perfection than any other in Italy. The tone of the French language is well ſuited to the nature of its government: every man is politely ſubmiſſive to thoſe above him; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, ſo as even to regulate the tone of the few who have occaſion to ſpeak with authority. The freedom of the Engliſh government forms the manners of the people: the Engliſh language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough ſounds. The Lacedemonians of old, a proud and auſtere people, affected to talk with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice; and hence the Laconic ſtyle, dry but maſculine. The Attic ſtyle is more difficult to be accounted for: it was ſweet and copious; and had a remarkable delicacy above the ſtyle of any other nation. And yet the democracy of Athens produced rough manners; witneſs the comedies of Ariſtophanes, and the orations of Eſchines and Demoſthenes. We are not ſo well acquainted with the Athenians as to account for the difference between their language and their manners:

manners: and are equally at a loſs about the Ruſſian tongue, which, notwithſtanding the barbarity of the people, is ſmooth and ſonorous. All that can be ſaid is, that the operation of a general cauſe may be diſturbed by particular circumſtances. Languages reſemble the tides: the influence of the moon, which is the general cauſe of tides, is in ſeveral inſtances overbalanced by particular cauſes acting in oppoſition.

There may be obſerved in ſome ſavage tribes, a certain refinement of language that might do honour to a poliſhed people. The Canadians never give a man his proper name, in ſpeaking to him. If he be a relation, he is addreſſed to in that quality: if a ſtranger, the ſpeaker gives him ſome appellation that marks affection; ſuch as, brother, couſin, friend.

From ſpeech we advance to action. Man is naturally prone to motion; witneſs children, who are never at reſt but when aſleep. Where reaſon governs, a man reſtrains that reſtleſs diſpoſition, and never acts without a motive. Savages have few motives to action when the belly is full: their huts require little induſtry; and their covering of ſkins, ſtill leſs. Hunting and fiſhing employ all their activity. After much fatigue in hunting, reſt is ſweet; which the ſavage prolongs, having no motive to action till the time of hunting returns. Savages accordingly, like dogs, are extremely active in the field, and extremely indolent at home *. The ſavages

* Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus; plus per otium tranſigunt, dediti ſomno, ciboque. Fortiſſimus quiſque ac bellicoſiſſimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis ſenibuſque, et infirmiſſimo cuique ex familia, ipſi hebent; mira diverſitate naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. *Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap.* 15. — [*In Engliſh thus:* "While not engaged in war, they do not often ſpend their time in "hunting, but chiefly in indolence, minding nothing but their ſleep and food. "The braveſt and moſt warlike among them, having nothing to do, paſs the time "in

ges of the torrid zone are indolent above all others: they go naked; their huts coſt them no trouble; and they never hunt except for vegetables, which are their only food. The Spaniards who firſt landed in Hiſpaniola, were ſurpriſed at the manners of the inhabitants. They are deſcribed as lazy, and without ambition; paſſing part of their time in eating and dancing, and the reſt in ſleep; having no great ſhare of memory, and ſtill leſs of underſtanding. The character given of theſe ſavages belongs to all, eſpecially to ſavages in hot climates. The imperfection of their memory and judgement is occaſioned by want of employment. The ſame imperfection was remarkable in the people of Paraguay, when under Jeſuit government; of which afterward (*a*).

In early times, people lived in a very ſimple manner, ignorant of ſuch habitual wants as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro, tended their fathers flocks: they were really ſhepherdeſſes. Young women of faſhion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner who made the bridal bed of Ulyſſes, was Ulyſſes himſelf (*b*). The Princeſs Nauſicaa waſhes the family-cloaths; and the Princes her brothers, upon her return, unyoke the car, and carry in the cloaths (*c*). Queens, and even female deities, are employ'd in ſpinning (*d*). Is it from this faſhion that young women in Eng-

" in a ſluggiſh ſtupidity, committing the care of the houſe, the family, and the " culture of the lands, to women, old men, and to the moſt weakly. Such is " the wonderful diverſity of their nature, that they are at once the moſt indolent " of beings, and the moſt impatient of reſt."]

(*a*) Book 2. ſketch 1.

(*b*) Odyſſey, book 23.

(*c*) Book 6. & 7.

(*d*) Book 10.

land

land are denominated ſpinſters? Telemachus goes to council with no attendants but two dogs:

" Soon as in ſolemn form th' aſſembly ſat,
" From his high dome himſelf deſcends in ſtate;
" Bright in his hand a pond'rous jav'lin ſhin'd;
" Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind."

ODYSSEY, *book* 2.

Priam's car is yoked by his own ſons, when he went to redeem from Achilles the body of his ſon Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car (*a*). Homer's heroes kill and dreſs their own victuals (*b*). Achilles entertaining Priam, as now mentioned, ſlew a ſnow-white ſheep; and his two friends flea'd and dreſſed it. Achilles himſelf divided the roaſted meat among all *.

Not to talk of gold, ſilver was ſcarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed even by kings of England, ſo trifling in our eſtimation, that a gentleman of a moderate fortune would be aſhamed to mention ſuch in his will.

We next take under conſideration the progreſs of ſuch manners as are more peculiarly influenced by internal diſpoſition; preparing the reader by a general view, before entering into particulars.

* Pope judging it below the dignity of Achilles to act the butcher, ſuppreſſes that article, impoſing the taſk upon his two friends. Pope, it would appear, did not conſider, that from a lively picture of ancient manners proceeds one of the capital pleaſures we have in peruſing Homer.

(*a*) Odyſſey, book 15.

(*b*) Odyſſey, book 19. & 20.

Man is by nature a timid animal, having little ability to ſecure himſelf againſt harm: but he becomes bold in ſociety, and gives vent to paſſion againſt his enemies. In the hunter-ſtate, the daily practice of ſlaughtering innocent animals for food, hardens men in cruelty: they are worſe than bears or wolves, being cruel even to their own kind The calm and ſedentary life of a ſhepherd tends to ſoften the harſh manners of hunters; and agriculture, requiring the union of many hands in one operation, inſpires a taſte for mutual good offices. But here comes in the hoarding appetite to diſturb that auſpicious commencement of civilization. Skilful huſbandry, producing the neceſſaries of life in plenty, paves the way to arts and manufactures. Fine houſes, ſplendid gardens, and rich apparel, are deſirable objects: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and to obtain gratification tramples down every obſtacle of juſtice or honour (*a*). Differences ariſe, fomenting diſcord and reſentment: war is raiſed, even among thoſe of the ſame tribe; and while it was lawful for a man to take revenge at his own hand (*b*), that fierce paſſion ſwallow'd up all others. Inequality of rank and fortune foſtered diſſocial paſſions: witneſs pride in particular, which produced a cuſtom, once univerſal among barbarians, of killing men, women, dogs, and horſes, for ſerving a dead chieftain in the other world. Such complication of ſelfiſh and ſtormy paſſions, tending eagerly to gratification, and rendering ſociety uncomfortable, cannot be ſtemmed by any human means other than wholeſome laws: a momentary obſtacle inflames deſire; but perpetual reſtraint deadens even the moſt fervid paſſion. The authority of good government gave vigour to kindly affections; and appetite for ſociety, which acts inceſſantly, tho' not violently, gave a currency to mu-

(*a*) See ſketch 3.

(*b*) See Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract 1.

tual

tual good offices. A circumſtance concurred to blunt the edge of diſſocial paſſions: the firſt ſocieties were ſmall; and ſmall ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood produce diſcord and reſentment without end: the junction of many ſuch ſtates into a great kingdom, remove people farther from their enemies, and render them more gentle (*a*). In that ſituation, men have leiſure and ſedateneſs to reliſh the comforts of ſocial life: they find that ſelfiſh and turbulent paſſions are ſubverſive of ſociety; and through fondneſs for ſociety, they patiently undergo the ſevere diſcipline of reſtraining paſſion, and ſmoothing manners. Violent paſſions that diſturb the peace of ſociety have ſubſided, and are now ſeldom heard of: humanity is in faſhion, and ſocial affections prevail. Men improve in urbanity by converſing with women; and however ſelfiſh at heart, they conciliate favour, by aſſuming an air of diſintereſtedneſs. Selfiſhneſs thus refined becomes an effectual cauſe of civilization. But what follows? Turbulent and violent paſſions are buried, never again to revive; leaving the mind totally ingroſſed by ſelf-intereſt. In the original ſtate of hunters and fiſhers, there being little connection among individuals, every man minds his own concerns, and ſelfiſhneſs governs. The diſcovery that hunting and fiſhing are beſt carried on in company, promotes ſome degree of ſociety in that ſtate: it gains ground in the ſhepherd-ſtate, and makes a captital figure where huſbandry and commerce flouriſh. Private concord is promoted by ſocial affection; and a nation is proſperous in proportion as the *amor patriæ* prevails. But wealth, acquired whether by conqueſt or commerce, is productive of luxury and ſenſuality. As theſe increaſe, ſocial affections decline, and at laſt vaniſh. This is viſible in every opulent city that has long flouriſhed in extenſive commerce. Selfiſhneſs becomes the ruling paſſion: friendſhip is no more; and even blood-relation is

(*a*) See this more fully handled, book 2. ſketch 1.

little regarded. Every man ſtudies his own intereſt; and love of gain and of ſenſual pleaſure are idols worſhipped by all. And thus in the progreſs of manners, men end as they begun: ſelfiſhneſs is no leſs eminent in the laſt and moſt poliſhed ſtate of ſociety, than in the firſt and moſt ſavage ſtate.

From a general view of the progreſs of manners, we deſcend to particulars. And the firſt ſcene that preſents itſelf is, cruelty to ſtrangers, extended in proceſs of time againſt members of the ſame tribe. Anger and reſentment are predominant in ſavages, who never think of ſmothering paſſion. But this character is not univerſal: ſome tribes are remarkable for humanity, as mentioned in the firſt ſketch. Anger and reſentment formed the character of our European anceſtors, and made them fierce and cruel. The Goths were ſo prone to blood, that in their firſt inroads into the Roman territories they maſſacred man, woman, and child. Procopius reports, that in one of theſe inroads they left Italy thin of inhabitants. They were however an honeſt people; and by the poliſh they received in the civilized parts of Europe, they became no leſs remarkable for humanity, than formerly for cruelty. Totila, their king, having maſtered Rome after a long and bloody ſiege, permitted not a ſingle perſon to be killed in cold blood, nor the chaſtity of any woman to be attempted. One cannot without horror think of the wanton cruelties exerciſed by the Tartars againſt the nations invaded by them under Gengizcan and Timor Bec.

A Scythian, ſays Herodotus, preſents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; and the man who brings not a head, gets no ſhare of the plunder. He adds, that many Scythians clothe themſelves with the ſkins of men, and make uſe of the ſculls of their enemies to drink out of. Diodorus Siculus reports of the Gauls, that they carry home the heads of their enemies ſlain in battle; and after embalming them, depoſit them in cheſts as their chief trophy; bragging of the ſums offered for theſe heads

heads by the friends of the deceaſed, and refuſed. In ſimilar circumſtances men are the ſame all the world over. The ſcalping of enemies, in daily uſe among the North-American ſavages, is equally cruel and barbarous.

No ſavages are more cruel than the Greeks and Trojans were, as deſcribed by Homer; men butchered in cold blood, towns reduced to aſhes, ſovereigns expoſed to the moſt humbling indignities, no reſpect paid to age nor to ſex. The young Adraſtus (*a*), thrown from his car, and lying on his face in the duſt, obtained quarter from Menelaus. Agamemnon upbraided his brother for lenity: "Let none from deſtruction eſcape, not even the liſping "infant in the mother's arms: all her ſons muſt with Ilium fall, "and on her ruins unburied remain." He pierced the ſuppliant with his ſpear; and ſetting his foot on the body, pulled it out. Hector, having ſtript Patroclus of his arms, drags the ſlain along, vowing to lop the head from the trunk, and to give the mangled corſe a prey to the dogs of Troy. And the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad is wholly employ'd in deſcribing the conteſt about the body between the Greeks and Trojans. Beſide the brutality of preventing the laſt duties from being performed to a dead friend, it is a low ſcene, unworthy of heroes. It was equally brutal in Achilles to drag the corſe of Hector to the ſhips, tied to his car. In a ſcene between Hector and Andromache (*b*), the treatment of vanquiſhed enemies is pathetically deſcribed; ſovereigns maſſacred, and their bodies left a prey to dogs and vultures; ſucking infants daſh'd againſt the pavement; ladies of the firſt rank forc'd to perform the loweſt acts of ſlavery. Hector doth not diſſemble, that if Troy were conquered, his poor wife would be condemned to draw water like the vileſt ſlave. Hecuba, in Eu-

(*a*) Book 6. of the Iliad.

(*b*) Iliad, book 6.

ripides,

ripides, laments, that ſhe was chained like a dog at Agamemnon's gate; and the ſame ſavage manners are deſcribed in many other Greek tragedies. Prometheus makes free with the heavenly fire, in order to give life to man. As a puniſhment for bringing rational creatures into exiſtence, the gods decree, that he be chained to a rock, and abandoned to birds of prey. Vulcan is introduced by Eſchylus rattling the chain, nailing one end to a rock, and the other to the breaſt-bone of the criminal. Who but an American ſavage can at preſent behold ſuch a ſpectacle and not be ſhocked at it? A ſcene repreſenting a woman murdered by her children, would be hiſſed by every modern audience; and yet that horrid ſcene was repreſented with applauſe in the Electra of Sophocles. Stobœus reports a ſaying of Menander, that even the gods cannot inſpire a ſoldier with civility: no wonder that the Greek ſoldiers were brutes and barbarians, when war was waged, not only againſt the ſtate, but againſt every individual. At preſent, humanity prevails among ſoldiers as among others; becauſe we make war only againſt a ſtate, not againſt individuals. The Greeks are the leſs excuſable for their cruelty, as they appear to have been ſenſible that humanity is a cardinal virtue. Barbarians are always painted by Homer as cruel; poliſhed nations as tender and compaſſionate:

" Ye gods! (he cried) upon what barren coaſt,
" In what new region is Ulyſſes toſt;
" Poſſeſs'd by wild barbarians fierce in arms,
" Or men whoſe boſom tender pity warms?"

ODYSSEY, *book* 13. 241.

Cruelty is inconſiſtent with true heroiſm; and accordingly very little of the latter is diſcoverable in any of Homer's warriors. So much did they retain of the ſavage character, as, even without bluſhing,

bluſhing, to fly from an enemy ſuperior in bodily ſtrength. Diomedes, who makes an illuſtrious figure in the fifth book of the Iliad, retires when Hector appears: "Diomedes beheld the chief, "and ſhuddered to his inmoſt ſoul." Antilochus, ſon of Neſtor, having ſlain Melanippus (*a*), ruſhed forward, eager to ſeize his bright arms. But ſeeing Hector, he fled like a beaſt of prey who ſhuns the gathering hinds. And the great Hector himſelf ſhamefully turns his back upon the near approach of Achilles: "Peri-"phetes, endowed with every virtue, renowned in the race, great "in war, in prudence excelling his fellows, gave glory to Hec-"tor, covering the chief with renown." One would expect a fierce combat between theſe two bold warriors. Not ſo. Periphetes ſtumbling, fell to the ground; and Hector was not aſhamed to transfix with his ſpear the unreſiſting hero.

In the ſame tone of character, nothing is more common among Homer's warriors than to inſult a vanquiſh'd foe. Patroclus, having beat Cebriones to the ground with a huge ſtone, derides his fall in the following words.

"Good heav'ns! what active feats yon artiſt ſhows,
"What ſkilful divers are our Phrygian foes!
"Mark with what eaſe they ſink into the ſand.
"Pity! that all their practice is by land."

The Greeks are repreſented (*b*) one after another ſtabbing the dead body of Hector: "Nor ſtood an Argive near the chief who "inflicted not a wound. Surely now, ſaid they, more eaſy of "acceſs is Hector, than when he launched on the ſhips brands of "devouring fire."

(*a*) Book 15.

(*b*) Book 22.

When

When ſuch were the manners of warriors at the ſiege of Troy, it is no wonder that the heroes on both ſides were not leſs intent on ſtripping the ſlain than on victory. They are every where repreſented as greedy of ſpoil.

The Jews did not yield to the Greeks in cruelty. It is unneceſſary to give inſtances, as the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament are in the hands of every one. I ſhall ſelect one inſtance for a ſpecimen, dreadfully cruel without any juſt provocation: "And "David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, "and fought againſt it, and took it. And he brought forth "the people that were therein, and put them under ſaws, and "under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them "paſs through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities "of the children of Ammon (*a*)."

That cruelty was predominant among the Romans, is evident from every one of their hiſtorians. Brutality to their offſpring was conſpicuous. Children were held, like cattle, to be the father's property: and ſo tenacious was the *patria poteſtas*, that if a ſon or daughter ſold to be a ſlave was ſet free, he or ſhe fell again under the father's power, to be ſold a ſecond time, and even a third time. The power of life and death over children was much leſs unnatural, while no public tribunal exiſted for puniſhing crimes. A ſon, being a ſlave, could have no property of his own. Julius Cæſar was the firſt who privileged a ſon to retain for his own uſe ſpoils acquired in war. When law became a lucrative profeſſion, what a ſon gained in that way was declared to be his property. In Athens, a man had power of life and death over his children; but as they were not ſlaves, what they acquired belonged to themſelves. So late as the days of Dioclefian, a ſon's mar-

(*a*) 2 Samuel, xii. 29.

riage

riage did not diſſolve the Roman *patria poteſtas* (*a*). But the power of ſelling children wore out of uſe (*b*). When powers ſo unnatural were given to men over their children, and exerciſed ſo tyrannically as to make a law neceſſary prohibiting the diſinheriting of children, can there be any doubt of their cruelty to others? During the ſecond triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorſe. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded, and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with ſavage pleaſure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, ſtruck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to ſee wild beaſts ſet looſe againſt one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taſte for blood, even at the time of their higheſt civilization. The Edile Scaurus ſent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Auguſtus 420, for the public ſpectacles. Their gladiatorian combats are not ſo clear a proof of their ferocity: the courage and addreſs exerted in theſe combats gave a manly pleaſure that balanced in ſome meaſure the pain of ſeeing theſe poor fellows cut and flaſh one another. And that the Romans were never cured of their itch for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monſters, who governed the Romans from Auguſtus downward. There is no example in modern times of ſuch monſters in France, tho' an abſolute monarchy, nor even in Turky.

Ferocity was in the Roman empire conſiderably mollified by literature and other fine arts; but it acquired new vigour upon the irruption of the barbarous nations who cruſhed that empire. In the year 559, Clotaire, King of the Franks, burnt alive his ſon, with

(*a*) l. 1. Cod. cap. De patria poteſtate.
(*b*) l. 10. eod.

all his friends, becauſe they had rebelled againſt him. Queen Brunehaud, being by Clotaire II. condemned to die, was dragged through the camp at a horſe's tail till ſhe gave up the ghoſt. The ferocity of European nations became altogether intolerable during the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem. Many peaſants in the northern provinces of France, being ſorely oppreſſed in civil wars carried on by the nobles againſt each other, turned deſperate, gathered together in bodies, reſolving to extirpate all the nobles. A party of them, anno 1358, forc'd open the caſtle of a knight, hung him up upon a gallows, violated in his preſence his wife and daughters, roaſted him upon a ſpit, compelled his wife and children to eat of his fleſh, and terminated that horrid ſcene with maſſacring the whole family, and burning the caſtle. When they were aſked, ſays Froiſſard, why they committed ſuch abominable actions, their anſwer was, " That they did as they ſaw others do; and " that all the nobles in the world ought to be deſtroy'd." The nobles, when they got the upper hand, were equally cruel. They put all to fire and ſword; and maſſacred every peaſant who came in the way, without troubling themſelves to ſeparate the innocent from the guilty. The Count de Ligny encouraged his nephew, a boy of fifteen, to kill with his own hand ſome priſoners who were his countrymen; in which, ſays Monſtrelet, the young man took great delight. How much worſe than brutal muſt have been the manners of that age! for even a beaſt of prey kills not but when inſtigated by hunger. The third act of ſtealing from the lead-mines in Derby, was, by a law of Edward I. puniſhed in the following manner: A hand of the criminal was nailed to a table; and in that ſtate he was left without meat or drink, having no means for freedom but to employ the one hand to cut off the other. The barbarity of the Engliſh at that period made ſevere puniſhments neceſſary: but the puniſhment mentioned goes beyond ſeverity; it is brutal cruelty. The barbarous treatment

of

of the Jews during the dark ages of Chriſtianity, gives pregnant evidence, that Chriſtians were not ſhort of Pagans in cruelty. Poiſon and aſſaſſination were moſt licentiouſly perpetrated, no farther back than the laſt century. Some pious men made vigorous efforts in more than one general council to have aſſaſſination condemned, as repugnant to the law of God; but in vain *.

I wiſh to ſoften the foregoing ſcene: it may be ſoftened a little. Among barbarians, puniſhments muſt be ſanguinary; as their bodies only are ſenſible of pain, not their minds.

The reſtoration of arts and ſciences in Europe, followed with a reformation in religion, had a wonderful effect in ſweetening manners, and promoting the intereſts of ſociety. Of all crimes high treaſon is the moſt involved in circumſtances, and upon that account the moſt difficult to be defined or circumſcribed: at the ſame time, the influence of government upon its judges ſeldom permits a fair trial. And yet, for that crime are reſerved the moſt exquiſite torments. In England, the puniſhment is, to cut up the criminal alive, to tear out his heart, to daſh it about his ears, and to throw it into the flames. The ſame puniſhment continues in form, not in reality: the heart indeed is torn out, but not till the criminal is ſtrangled. Even the virulence of religious zeal is conſiderably abated. Savonarola was condemned to the flames as an impious impoſtor; but he was firſt privately ſtrangled. The fine arts, which humanize manners, were in Italy at that time accelerating toward perfection. The famous Latimer was in England

* It required the ferocity and cruelty of a barbarous age to give currency to a Mahometan doctrine, That the ſword is the moſt effectual means of converting men to a dominant religion. The eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition will not permit me to ſay, that Chriſtians never put in practice a doctrine ſo deteſtable: on the contrary, they ſurpaſs the Mahometans, giving no quarter to heretics, either in this life, or in that to come. The eternity of hell-torments is a doctrine no leſs inconſiſtent with the juſtice of the Deity, than with his benevolence.

condemned to be burnt for hereſy: but bags of gunpowder were put under his arms, that he might be burnt with the leaſt pain. Even Knox, a violent Scotch reformer, acknowledges, that Wiſhart was ſtrangled before he was thrown into the flames for hereſy. So bitter was the late perſecution againſt the Jeſuits, that not only were their perſons proſcribed, but in many places their books, not even excepting books upon mathematics, and other abſtract ſubjects. That perſecution reſembled in many particulars the perſecution againſt the knights-templars: fifty-nine of the latter were burnt alive: the former were really leſs innocent; and yet ſuch humanity prevails at preſent, that not a drop of Jeſuit-blood has been ſhed. A bankrupt in Scotland, if he have not ſuffered by unavoidable misfortune, is by law condemned to wear a party-coloured garment. That law is not now put in execution, unleſs where a bankrupt deſerves to be ſtigmatized for his culpable miſconduct.

Whether the following late inſtance of barbarity do not equal any of thoſe above mentioned, I leave to my readers. No traveller who viſited Peterſburgh during the reign of the Empreſs Eliſabeth can be ignorant of Madam Lapouchin, the great ornament of that court. Her intimacy with a foreign ambaſſador having brought her under ſuſpicion of plotting with him againſt the government, ſhe was condemned to undergo the puniſhment of the knout. At the place of execution ſhe appeared in a genteel undreſs, which heightened her beauty. Of whatever indiſcretion ſhe might have been guilty, the ſweetneſs of her countenance, and her compoſure, left not in the ſpectators the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of guilt. Her youth alſo, her beauty, her life and ſpirit pleaded for her.—But all in vain: ſhe was deſerted by all, and abandoned to ſurly executioners; whom ſhe beheld with aſtoniſhment, ſeeming to doubt whether ſuch preparations were intended for her. The cloak that covered her boſom being pulled off, modeſty took the alarm,

alarm, and made her ſtart back: ſhe turned pale, and burſt into tears. One of the executioners ſtripp'd her naked to the waiſt, ſeized her by both hands, and threw her on his back, raiſing her ſome inches from the ground. The other executioner laying hold of her delicate limbs with his rough fiſts, put her in a poſture for receiving the puniſhment. Then laying hold of the knout, a ſort of whip made of a leathern ſtrap, he retreated a few ſteps, and with a ſingle ſtroke tore off a ſlip of ſkin from the neck downward, repeating his ſtrokes till all the ſkin of her back was cut off in ſmall ſlips. The executioner finiſhed his taſk with cutting out her tongue; after which ſhe was baniſhed to Siberia *.

The native inhabitants of the iſland Amboyna are Malayans. Thoſe on the ſea-coaſt are ſubject to the Dutch: thoſe in the inland parts are declared enemies to the Dutch, and never give quarter. A Dutch captive, after being confined five days without food, is ripped up, his heart cut out, and the head, ſever'd from the body, is preſerved in ſpice for a trophy. Thoſe who can ſhow the greateſt number of Dutch heads are the moſt honourable.

In early times, when revenge and cruelty trampled on law, people formed aſſociations for ſecuring their lives and their poſſeſſions. Theſe were common in Scandinavia and in Scotland. They were alſo common in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and for ſome ages after the Conqueſt. But inſtead of ſupporting juſtice, they contributed more than any other cauſe to a-

* The preſent Empreſs has laid an excellent foundation for civilizing her people, which is a Code of laws, founded on principles of civil liberty, baniſhing ſlavery and torture, and expreſſing the utmoſt regard for the life, property, and liberty, of all her ſubjects, high and low. Peter I. reformed many bad cuſtoms: but being rough in his own manners, he left the manners of his people as he found them. If this Empreſs happen to enjoy a long and proſperous reign, ſhe may poſſibly accompliſh the moſt difficult of all undertakings, that of poliſhing her people. No taſk is too arduous for a woman of ſuch ſpirit.

narchy

narchy and confuſion, the members protecting each other, even in robbery and murder. They were ſuppreſſed in England by a ſtatute of Richard II.; and in Scotland by reiterated ſtatutes.

Roughneſs and harſhneſs of manners are generally connected with cruelty; and the manners of the Greeks and Trojans are accordingly repreſented in the Iliad as remarkably rough and harſh. When the armies were ready to engage (*a*), Meneſtheus King of Athens, and Ulyſſes of Ithaca, are bitterly reproached by Agamemnon for lingering, while others were more forward. "Son "of Peleus, he ſaid, and thou verſed in artful deceit, in miſ- "chief only wiſe, why trembling ſhrink ye back from the field; "why wait till others engage in fight? You it became, as firſt in "rank, the firſt to meet the flame of war. Ye firſt to the ban- "quet are called when we ſpread the feaſt. Your delight is to "eat, to regale, to quaff unſtinted the generous wine." In the fifth book Sarpedon upbraids Hector for cowardice. And Tlepolemus, ready to engage with Sarpedon, attacks him firſt with reviling and ſcurrilous words. Becauſe Hector was not able to reſcue the dead body of Sarpedon from the Greeks, he is upbraided by Glaucus, Sarpedon's friend, in the following words. "Hec- "tor, tho' ſpecious in form, diſtant art thou from valour in "arms. Undeſerved haſt thou fame acquired, when thus thou "ſhrinkeſt from the field. Thou ſuſtaineſt not the dreadful arm, "not even the ſight of godlike Ajax. Thou haſt ſhunned his "face in the fight: thou dareſt not approach his ſpear."

Rough and harſh manners produced ſlavery; and ſlavery foſtered rough and harſh manners, by giving them conſtant exerciſe. The brutality of the Spartans to the Helots, their ſlaves, is a reproach to the human ſpecies. Beſide the harſheſt uſage, they were prevented from multiplying by downright murder and maſſacre.

(*a*) Book 4.

Why

Why did not ſuch barbarity render the Spartans deteſtable, inſtead of being reſpected by their neighbours as the moſt virtuous people in Greece? There can be but one reaſon, that the Greeks were all of them cruel, the Spartans a little more perhaps than the reſt. In Rome, a ſlave, chain'd at the gate of every great houſe, gave admittance to the gueſts invited to a feaſt: could any but barbarians behold ſuch a ſpectacle without pain? If a Roman citizen was found murdered in his own houſe, his whole houſehold-ſlaves, perhaps two or three hundred, were put to death without mercy, unleſs they could detect the murderer. Such a law, cruel and unjuſt, could never have been enacted among a people of any humanity.

Whence the rough and harſh manners of our Weſt-Indian planters, but from the unreſtrained licence of venting ill humour upon their negro ſlaves *? Why are carters a rugged ſet of men? Plainly becauſe

* C'eſt de cet eſclavage des negres, que les Crèoles tirent peut-être en partie un certain caractere, qui les fait paroître bizarres, fantaſques, et d'une ſociété peu goûtée en Europe. A peine peuvent-ils marcher dans l'enfance, qu'ils voient autour d'eux des hommes grands et robuſtes, deſtinés à deviner, à prevenir leur volonté. Ce premier coup d'œil doit leur donner d'eux-mêmes l'opinion la plus extravagante. Rarement exposés à trouver de la réſiſtance dans leurs fantaiſies même injuſtes, ils prennent un eſprit de préſomption, de tyrannie, et de mépris extrême, pour une grande portion du genre humain. Rien n'eſt plus inſolent que l'homme qui vit preſque toujours avec ſes inferieurs; mais quand ceux-ci ſont des eſclaves, accoutumés à ſervir des enfans, à craindre juſqu'à des cris qui doivent leur attirer des châtimens, que peuvent devenir des maîtres qui n'ont jamais obéi, des méchans qui n'ont jamais été punis, des foux qui mettent des hommes à la chaîne? *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique des etabliſſemens des Européens dans les Deux Indes*, *l.* 4. *p.* 201. — [*In Engliſh thus:* "It is from this ſlavery of the negroes, that the "Creoles derive in a great meaſure that character which makes them appear ca-"pricious and fantaſtical, and of a ſtyle of manners which is not reliſhed in Eu-"rope. Scarcely have the children learned to walk, when they ſee around them "tall and robuſt men, whoſe province it is to gueſs their inclinations, and to pre-"vent

becauſe horſes, their ſlaves, ſubmit without reſiſtance. An ingenious writer, deſcribing Guiana in the ſouthern continent of America, obſerves, that the negroes, who are more numerous than the whites, muſt be kept in awe by ſeverity of diſcipline. And he endeavours to juſtify the practice; urging, that beſide contributing to the ſafety of the white inhabitants, it makes the ſlaves themſelves leſs unhappy. "Impoſſibility of attainment," ſays he, "never fails to annihilate deſire of enjoyment; and rigid treatment, ſuppreſſing every hope of liberty, makes them peaceably "ſubmit to ſlavery." Sad indeed muſt be the condition of ſlaves, if harſh treatment contribute to make them leſs unhappy. Such reaſoning may be be reliſhed by rough European planters, intent upon gain: I am inclined however to believe, that the harſh treatment of theſe poor people is more owing to the avarice of their maſters, than to their own perverſeneſs *. That ſlaves in all ages have been harſhly treated, is a melancholy truth. One exception I know, and but one, which I gladly mention in honour of the Mandingo negroes. Their ſlaves, who are numerous, receive

"vent their wiſhes. This firſt obſervation muſt give them the moſt extravagant "opinion of themſelves. From being ſeldom accuſtomed to meet with any oppo- "ſition, even in their moſt unreaſonable whims, they acquire a preſumptuous and "tyrannical diſpoſition, and entertain an extreme contempt for a great part of the "human race. None is ſo inſolent as the man who lives almoſt always with his "inferiors; but when theſe inferiors are ſlaves accuſtomed to ſerve infants, and "to fear even their crying, for which they muſt ſuffer puniſhment, what can be "expected of thoſe maſters who have never obeyed, profligates who have never "met with chaſtiſement, and madmen who load their fellow-creatures with "chains?"

* In England ſlavery ſubſiſted ſo late as the ſixteenth century. A commiſſion was iſſued by Queen Eliſabeth, anno 1574, for enquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glo'ſter, in order to compound with them for their manumiſſion or freedom, that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as free men.

very

very gentle treatment; the women eſpecially, who are generally ſo well dreſſed as not to be diſtinguiſhable from thoſe who are free.

Many political writers are of opinion, that for crimes inſtigated by avarice only, ſlavery for life and hard work, would be a more adequate puniſhment than death. I would ſubſcribe to that opinion but for the following conſideration, that the having ſuch criminals perpetually in view, would harden the hearts of the ſpectators, and eradicate pity, a capital moral paſſion. Behold the behaviour of the Dutch in the iſland of Amboyna. A native who is found guilty of theft is deprived of his ears and noſe, and made a ſlave for life. William Funnel, who was there anno 1705, reports, that 500 of theſe wretches were ſecured in priſon, and never ſuffered to go abroad but in order to ſaw timber, to cut ſtone, or to carry heavy burdens. Their food is a pittance of coarſe rice boiled in water, and their bed the hard ground. What is ſtill worſe, poor people who happen to run in debt are turned over to the ſervants of the Eaſt-India company, who ſend them to work among their ſlaves, with a daily allowance of two pence, which goes to the creditor. A nation muſt be devoid of bowels, who can eſtabliſh ſuch inhumanity by law. But time has rendered that practice familiar to the Dutch, ſo as to behold with abſolute indifference, the multiplied miſeries of their fellow-creatures. It appears indeed, that ſuch a puniſhment would be more effectual than death to repreſs theft; but can any one doubt, that ſociety would ſuffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by removing every one by death who is guilty of theft? At the ſame time, the Dutch, however cruel to the natives, are extremely complaiſant to one another: ſeldom is any one of them puniſhed but for murder: a ſmall ſum will procure pardon for any other crime.

A degree of coarſeneſs and indelicacy is connected with rough

manners. The manners of the Greeks, as copied by Plautus and Terence from Menander and other Greek writers, were extremely coarſe; ſuch as may be expected in a people living among their ſlaves, without any ſociety with virtuous women. The behaviour of Demoſthenes and Eſchines to each other in their public harangues, is wofully coarſe. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy, neither gods nor men are ſpared. The moſt reſpectable perſons of the republic are ridiculed by name, in the comedies of Ariſtophanes, which wallow in looſeneſs and detraction. In the third act of Andromaché, a tragedy of Euripides, Peleus and Menelaus, Kings of Theſſaly and Sparta, fall into downright ribaldry; Menelaus ſwearing that he would not give up his victim, and Peleus threatening to knock him down with his ſtaff. The manners of Jaſon, in the tragedy of Medea by Euripides, are wofully indelicate. With unparallelled ingratitude to his wife Medea, he, in her preſence, makes love to the King of Corinth's daughter, and obtains her in marriage. Inſtead of ſhunning a perſon he had ſo deeply injured, he endeavours to excuſe himſelf to her in a very ſneaking manner, "that he was an "exile like herſelf, without ſupport; and that his marriage would "acquire powerful friends to them and to their children." Could he imagine, that ſuch frigid reaſons would touch a woman of any ſpirit? But the moſt ſtriking picture of indelicate manners, is exhibited in the tragedy of Alceſtes. Admetus prevails upon Alceſtes, his loving and beloved wife, to die in his ſtead. What a barbarian muſt the man be, who graſps at life upon ſuch a condition? How ridiculous is the bombaſt flouriſh of Admetus, that, if he were Orpheus, he would pierce to hell, brave the three-headed Cerberus, and reſtore his wife to earth again! and how indecently does he ſcold his father, for refuſing to die for him! What pretext could the monſter have to complain of his father,

when

when he himſelf was ſo diſgracefully fond of life, as even to ſolicit his beloved ſpouſe to die in his ſtead! What ſtronger inſtance, after all, would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world except themſelves to be barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether ſingular. Tho' the Tartars, as mentioned above, were foul feeders, and hoggiſhly naſty, yet they were extremely proud, deſpiſing, like the Greeks, every other nation. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels; except their own country, which they hold to be the handiwork of the ſupreme architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themſelves; and in private make a mock of the Europeans, or Kablunets, as they call them. Deſpiſing arts and ſciences, they value themſelves on their ſkill in catching ſeals, conceiving it to be the only uſeful art. They hold themſelves to be the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they ſee a modeſt ſtranger, they ſay, "he begins to be a man;" that is, to be like one of themſelves.

So coarſe and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a puniſhment inflicted on the officers of the army, not even excepting centurions (*a*). Doth it not ſhow extreme groſſneſs of manners, to expreſs in plain words the parts that modeſty bids us conceal? and yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers. In the Cyclops of Euripides there is repreſented a ſcene of the vice againſt nature, groſsly obſcene, without the leaſt diſguiſe. How wofully indelicate muſt the man have been, who could ſit down gravely to compoſe ſuch a piece! and how diſſolute muſt the ſpectators have been, who could behold ſuch a ſcene without hiſſing! Next to the indecency of expoſing one's nudities in good company, is the talking of them without reſerve. Horace is extremely obſcene, and Martial no leſs. But I cenſure neither of

(*a*) Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Albinus.

them, and as little the Queen of Navarre for her tales; for they wrote according to the manners of the times. It is the manners I cenſure, not the writers. A woman taken in adultery was proſtituted in the public ſtreet to all comers, a bell ringing the whole time. This abominable practice was aboliſhed by the Emperor Theodoſius (*a*).

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no leſs coarſe than cruel. In the Cartularies of Charlemagne, judges are forbid to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty ſtomach. It would appear, that men in thoſe days were not aſhamed to be ſeen drunk, even in a court of juſtice. It was cuſtomary, both in France and Italy, to collect for ſport all the ſtrumpets in the neighbourhood, and to make them run races. Several feudal tenures give evidence of manners both low and coarſe. Struvius mentions a tenure, binding the vaſſal, on the birth-day of his lord, to dance and fart before him. The cod-piece, which a few centuries ago made part of a man's dreſs, and which ſwelled by degrees to a monſtrous ſize, teſtifies ſhamefully-coarſe manners; and yet it was a modeſt ornament, compared with one uſed in France during the reign of Lewis XI. which was the figure of a man's privy parts worn upon the coat or breeches. In the ſame period, the judgement of Paris was a favourite theatrical entertainment: three women ſtark-naked repreſented the three goddeſſes, Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Nick-names, ſo common not long ago, are an inſtance of the ſame coarſeneſs of manners; for to fix a nick-name on a man, is to uſe him with contemptuous familiarity. In the thirteenth century, many clergymen refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, unleſs they were paid for it *.

Swearing

(*a*) Socrates, Hiſt Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 18.

* Corpus Chriſti tenentes in manibus, (ſays the canon), ac ſi dicerent, Quid mihi vultis

Swearing as an expletive of ſpeech, is a violent ſymptom of rough and coarſe manners. Such ſwearing prevails among all barbarous nations. Even women in Plautus ſwear fluently. Swearing prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was baniſhed by polite manners. Our Queen Eliſabeth was a bold ſwearer; and the Engliſh populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours, are noted by ſtrangers for that vice. Tho' ſwearing in order to enforce an expreſſion, is not in itſelf immoral; it is however hurtful in its conſequences, rendering ſacred names too familiar. God's beard, the common oath of William Rufus, ſuggeſts an image of our maker as an old man with a long beard. In vain have acts of parliament been made againſt ſwearing: it is eaſy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths; and as that vice proceeds from an overflow of ſpirits, people in that condition brave penalties. Poliſhed manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and reſentment. About a century ago, it was uſual for the ſervants and retainers of the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the laſt day of every term, throwing bags, duſt, ſand, or ſtones, all around. We have undoubted evidence of that diſorderly practice from an act of the court, prohibiting it under a ſevere penalty, as diſhonourable to the court, and unbecoming the civility requiſite in ſuch a place (*a*).

And this leads to the lowneſs of ancient manners; plainly diſtinguiſhable from ſimplicity of manners: the latter is agreeable, not the former. Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man

vultis dare, et ego eum vobis tradam? — [*In Engliſh thus:* "Holding the body of "Chriſt in their hands, as if they ſaid, What will you give me for this?"]

(*a*) Act of Sederunt, 21ſt February 1663.

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was an act of high reſpect. Joſeph, the King's firſt miniſter, in order to honour Benjamin above his brethren, gave him a five-fold meſs (*a*). The Greeks in their feaſts diſtinguiſhed their heroes by a double portion (*b*). Ulyſſes cut a fat piece out of the chine of a wild boar for Demodocus the bard (*c*). The ſame reſpectful politeneſs is practiſed at preſent among the American ſavages; ſo much are all men alike in ſimilar circumſtances. Telemachus (*d*) complains bitterly of Penelope's ſuitors, that they were gluttons, and conſumed his beef and mutton. The whole 14th book of the Odyſſey, containing the reception of Ulyſſes by Eumæus the ſwine-herd, is miſerably low. Manners muſt be both groſs and low, where common beggars are admitted to the feaſts of princes, and receive ſcraps from their hands (*e*). In Rome every gueſt brought his own napkin to a feaſt. A ſlave carried it home, filled with what was left from the entertainment. Sophocles, in his tragedy of Iphigenia in Aulis, repreſents Clytemneſtra ſtepping down from her car, and exhorting her ſervants to look after her baggage, with the anxiety and minuteneſs of a lady's waiting-woman. Homer paints in lively colours the riches of the Phœacians, their ſkill in navigation, the magnificence of the king's court, of his palace, and of the public buildings. But, with the ſame breath, he deſcribes Nauſicaa, the king's daughter, travelling to the river on a waggon of greaſy cloaths, to be waſhed there by her and her maids. Poſſibly it will be urged, that ſuch circumſtances, however low in our opinion, might appear other-

(*a*) Gen. xliii. 34.

(*b*) Odyſſey, b. 8. v. 513. b. 15. v. 156.

(*c*) Odyſſey, b. 8. v. 519.

(*d*) Odyſſey, b. 2.

(*e*) See 17th & 18th books of the Odyſſey.

wiſe

wiſe to the Greeks. If they had appeared low to the Greeks, they would not have been introduced by their greateſt poet. But what does this prove, other than that the Greeks were low in their manners? Their manners did not correſpond to the delicacy of their taſte in the fine arts. Nor can it be expected that they ſhould correſpond, when the Greeks were ſtrangers to that polite ſociety with women which refines behaviour, and elevates manners. The firſt kings in Greece, as Thucydides obſerves, were elective, having no power but to command their armies in time of war; which reſembles the government that obtains at preſent in the iſthmus of Darien. They had no written laws, being governed by cuſtom merely. To live by plunder was held honourable; for it was their opinion, that the rules of juſtice are not intended for reſtraining the powerful. All ſtrangers were accounted enemies, as among the Romans; and inns were unknown, becauſe people lived at home, having very little intercourſe even with thoſe of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany; and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the highlands of Scotland; but for an oppoſite reaſon, that hoſpitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail ſo much among our highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront if a ſtranger paſs his houſe. At a congreſs between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, among other ſpectacles for public entertainment, the two kings had a wreſtling-match. Had they forgot that they were ſovereign princes?

One would imagine war to be a ſoil too rough for the growth of civilization; and yet it is not always an unkindly ſoil. War between two ſmall tribes is fierce and cruel: but a large ſtate mitigates reſentment, by directing it, not againſt individuals, but againſt the ſtate in general. We know no enemies but thoſe who are in arms: we have no reſentment againſt others, but rather

find

find a pleaſure in treating them with humanity. Barbarity and cruelty, having thus in war few individuals for their objects, naturally ſubſide; and magnanimity in their ſtead transforms ſoldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was uſual in France to demand battle; and it was held diſhonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Here was heroiſm without prudence; but in all reformations it is natural to go from one extreme to the other. While the King of England held any poſſeſſions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations, which was commonly carried on with more magnanimity than is uſual between inveterate enemies. It became cuſtomary to give priſoners their freedom, upon a ſimple parole to return with their ranſom at a day named. The ſame was the cuſtom in the border-wars between the Engliſh and Scots, before their union under one monarch. Both parties found their account equally in ſuch honourable behaviour. Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle againſt the French, took the illuſtrious Bertrand du Guéſclin priſoner. He long declined to accept a ranſom; but finding it whiſpered that he was afraid of that hero, he inſtantly ſet him at liberty without a ranſom. This may be deemed impolitic or whimſical: but is love of glory leſs praiſe-worthy than love of conqueſt? The Duke of Guiſe, victor in the battle of Dreux, reſted all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his priſoner, a ſhare of his bed, where they lay like brothers. The Chevalier Bayard, commander of a French army *anno* 1524, being mortally wounded in retreating from the Imperialiſts, placed himſelf under a tree, his face however to the enemy. The Marquis de Peſcara, General of the Imperial forces, finding him dead in that poſture, behaved with the generoſity of a gallant adverſary: he directed his body to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his relations in the moſt honourable manner. Magnanimity and heroiſm, in which benevolence is an eſſential ingredient, are inconſiſtent with

with cruelty, perfidy, or any groveling paſſion. Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the Engliſh and Scotch borderers before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquiſhed lay promiſcuouſly in the ſame camp, without apprehending the leaſt danger one from the other. The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, tho' ſuperior to all in bodily ſtrength, takes every advantage of his enemy; and never feels either compaſſion or remorſe. The politic of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken the ſtate by plundering its territory, and deſtroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals not in arms are ſecure, which ſaves much innocent blood. Priſoners were ſet at liberty upon paying a ranſom; and by later improvements in manners, even that practice is left off, as too mercantile, a more honourable practice being ſubſtituted, viz. a cartel for exchange of priſoners. Humanity was carried to a ſtill greater height, in our late war with France, by an agreement between the Duke de Noailles and the Earl of Stair, That the hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded ſoldiers ſhould be ſecure from all hoſtilities. The humanity of the Duke de Randan in the ſame war, makes an illuſtrious figure even in the preſent age, remarkable for humanity to enemies. When the French troops were compelled to abandon their conqueſts in the electorate of Hanover, their Generals every where burnt their magazines, and plundered the people. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover, put the magiſtrates in poſſeſſion of his magazines, requeſting them to diſtribute the contents among the poor; and he was beſide extremely vigilant to prevent his ſoldiers from committing acts of violence *. The neceſſity of fortifying

* Such kindlineſs in an enemy from whom nothing is expected but miſchief, is an illuſtrious inſtance of humanity. And a ſimilar inſtance will not make the leſs

fortifying towns to guard from deſtruction the innocent and defenceleſs, affords convincing evidence of the ſavage cruelty that prevailed in former times. By the growth of humanity, ſuch fortifications have become leſs frequent; and they ſerve no purpoſe at preſent but to defend againſt invaſion; in which view a ſmall fortification, if but ſufficient for the garriſon, is greatly preferable; being conſtructed at a much leſs expence, and having no mouths to provide for but the garriſon only.

figure that it was done by a man of inferior rank. When Monſ. Thurot, during our late war with France, appeared on the coaſt of Scotland with three armed veſſels, the terror he at firſt ſpred, ſoon yielded to admiration inſpired by his humanity. He paid a full price for every thing he wanted; and in general behaved with ſo much affability, that a countryman ventured to complain to him of an officer who had taken from him fifty or ſixty guineas. The officer acknowledged the fact; but ſaid, that he had divided the money among his men. Thurot ordered the officer to give his bill for the money, which, he ſaid, ſhould be ſtopped out of his pay, if they were ſo fortunate as to return to France. Compare this incident with that of the great Scipio, celebrated in Roman ſtory, who reſtored a beautiful bride to the bridegroom, and it will not ſuffer by the compariſon. Another inſtance is no leſs remarkable. One of his officers gave a bill upon a merchant in France, for the price of proviſions purchaſed by him. Thurot having accidentally ſeen the bill, informed the countryman that it was of no value, reprimanded the officer bitterly for the cheat, and compelled him to give a bill upon a merchant who he knew would pay the money. At that very time, Thurot's men were in bad humour, and were diſpoſed to mutiny. In ſuch circumſtances, would not Thurot have been excuſed, for winking at a fraud to which he was not acceſſory? But he acted all along with the ſtricteſt honour, even at the hazard of a mutiny. Common honeſty to an enemy is not a common practice in war. Thurot was ſtrictly honeſt in circumſtances that made the exertion of common honeſty an act of the higheſt magnanimity. Theſe incidents ought to be held up to princes as examples of true heroiſm. War carried on in that manner, would, from deſolation and horror, be converted into a fair field for acquiring true military glory, and for exerciſing every manly virtue. I feel the greateſt ſatisfaction in paying this tribute of praiſe to the memory of that great man. He will be kept in remembrance by every true-hearted Briton, tho' he died fighting againſt us. But he died in the field of honour, fighting for his country.

In

In the progreſs of ſociety there is commonly a remarkable period, when ſocial and diſſocial paſſions ſeem to bear equal ſway, prevailing alternately. In the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, there are frequent inſtances of cruelty, equalling that of American ſavages; and inſtances no leſs frequent of gratitude, of generoſity, and even of clemency, that betoken manners highly poliſhed. Ptolemy of Egypt, having gained a complete victory over Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, reſtored to him his equipage, his friends, and his domeſtics, ſaying, that "they ought not to make "war for plunder, but for glory." Demetrius having defeated one of Ptolemy's Generals, was leſs delighted with the victory, than with the opportunity of rivalling his antagoniſt in humanity. The ſame Demetrius having reſtored liberty to the Athenians, was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterward, in his adverſity, their gates were ſhut againſt him. Upon a change of fortune he laid ſiege to Athens, reſolving to chaſtiſe that rebellious and ungrateful people. He aſſembled the inhabitants in the theatre, ſurrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total maſſacre. But their terror was ſhort; he pronounced their pardon, and beſtow'd on them 100,000 meaſures of wheat. Ptolemy, the ſame who is mentioned above, having at the ſiege of Tyre ſummoned Andronicus the governor to ſurrender, received a provoking and contemptuous anſwer. The town being taken, Andronicus gave himſelf over for loſt: but the King, thinking it below his dignity to reſent an injury againſt an inferior, now his priſoner, not only overlooked the affront, but courted Andronicus to be his friend. Edward the Black Prince is an inſtance of refined manners, breaking, like a ſpark of fire, through the gloom of barbarity. The Emperor Charles V. after loſing 30,000 men at the ſiege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat, leaving his camp filled with ſick and wounded, dead and dying. Tho' the war between him and the King of France was carried on with unuſual

rancour, yet the Duke of Guiſe, governor of the town, exerted in thoſe barbarous times a degree of humanity that would make a ſplendid figure even at preſent: He ordered plenty of food for thoſe who were dying of hunger, appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded, removed to the adjacent villages thoſe who could bear motion, and admitted the remainder into the hoſpitals that he had fitted up for his own ſoldiers; thoſe who recovered their health were ſent home, with money to defray the expence of the journey.

In the period that intervenes between barbarity and humanity, there are not wanting inſtances of oppoſite paſſions in the ſame perſon, governing alternately; as if a man could this moment be mild and gentle, and next momeut harſh and brutal. To vouch the obſervation, I beg leave to introduce two rival monarchs, who for many years diſtreſſed their own people, and diſturbed Europe, viz. the Emperor Charles, and the French King Francis. The Emperor, driven by contrary winds on the coaſt of France, was invited by Francis, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, to take ſhelter in his dominions, propoſing an interview at Aigues-Mortes, a ſea-port town. The Emperor inſtantly repaired there in his galley; and Francis, relying on the Emperor's honour, viſited him on ſhipboard, and was received with every expreſſion of affection. Next day, the Emperor repaid the confidence repoſed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes with as little precaution, and found a reception equally cordial. After twenty years of open hoſtilities, or of ſecret enmity, after having formally given the lie, and challenged each other to ſingle combat, after the Emperor had publicly inveighed againſt Francis as void of honour, and Francis had accuſed the Emperor as murderer of his own ſon; ſuch behaviour will ſcarce be thought conſiſtent with human nature. But theſe monarchs lived in a period verging from cruelty to humanity; and ſuch periods abound with ſurpriſing changes of temper and

and conduct. In the preſent times, ſuch changes are unknown.

Conqueſt has not always the ſame effect upon the manners of the conquered. The Tartars who ſubdued China in the thirteenth century, adopted immediately the Chineſe manners: the government, laws, cuſtoms, continued without variation. And the ſame happened upon their ſecond conqueſt of China in the ſeventeenth century. The barbarous nations alſo who cruſh'd the Roman empire, adopted the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of the conquered. Very different was the fate of the Greek empire when conquered by the Turks. That warlike nation introduced every where their own laws and manners: even at this day they continue a diſtinct people, as much as ever. The Tartars, as well as the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, were all of them rude and illiterate, deſtitute of laws, and ignorant of government. Such nations readily adopt the laws and manners of a civilized people, whom they admire. The Turks had laws, and a regular government; and the Greeks, when ſubduded by them, were reduced by luxury and ſenſuality to be objects of contempt, not of imitation.

Manners are deeply affected by perſecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquiſition, enable the inquiſitors to ruin whom they pleaſe. A perſon accuſed is not confronted with the accuſer: every ſort of accuſation is welcome, and from every perſon: a child, a common proſtitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witneſſes: a ſon is compelled to give evidence againſt his father, and a woman againſt her huſband. Nay the perſons accuſed are compelled to inform againſt themſelves, by gueſſing what ſin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings, made all Spain tremble: every man diſtruſted his neighbour, and even his own family: a total end was put to friendſhip, and to ſocial freedom. Hence the gravity and reſerve of a people, who have naturally all the vivacity of a temperate

rate clime and bountiful ſoil *. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art and in every ſcience. Human nature is reduced to its loweſt ſtate, when governed by ſuperſtition clothed with power.

We proceed to another capital article in the hiſtory of manners, viz. the ſelfiſh and ſocial branches of our nature, by which manners are greatly influenced. Selfiſhneſs prevails among ſavages; becauſe corporeal pleaſures are its chief objects, and of theſe every ſavage is perfectly ſenſible. Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for a ſavage, unleſs of the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, ſelfiſhneſs made no figure: the means of gratifying the calls of nature were in plenty; and men who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing againſt it; and far leſs do they think of coveting what belongs to another. But men are not long contented with ſimple neceſſaries: an unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably provided, leads them from neceſſaries to conveniencies, and from theſe to every luxury of life. Avarice turns headſtrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become neceſſary to protect individuals from the rapacity of their neighbours. When the goods of fortune, money in particular, come to be prized, ſelfiſhneſs ſoon diſplays itſelf. In Madagaſcar, a man who makes a preſent of an ox or a calf, expects the value in return: and ſcruples not to ſay, "You my friend, I your friend; "you no my friend, I no your friend; I ſalamanca you, you ſa- "lamanca me." Salamanca means, the making a preſent. Admiral Watſon being introduced to the King of Baba, in Madagaſcar, was aſked by his Majeſty, what preſents he had brought. Hence the cuſtom, univerſal among barbarians, of always accoſt-

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the inquiſition, are abundantly chearful, perhaps more ſo than thoſe of France.

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ing a king, or any man of high rank, with preſents. The peculiar excellence of man above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a reliſh for ſociety, and finds a pleaſure in benevolence, generoſity, and in every other kindly affection, far above what ſelfiſhneſs can afford. How agreeable is this ſcene! Alas, too agreeable to laſt for ever. Opulence and luxury inflame the hoarding appetite; and ſelfiſhneſs at laſt prevails as it did originally. The ſelfiſhneſs however of ſavages differs from that of pampered people. Luxury, confining a man's whole views to himſelf, admits not of friendſhip, and ſcarce of any other ſocial paſſion. But where a ſavage takes a liking to a particular perſon, the whole force of his ſocial affection being directed to a ſingle object, becomes extremely fervid. Hence the unexampled friendſhip between Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad; and hence many ſuch friendſhips among ſavages.

But there is much more to be ſaid of the influence of opulence on manners. Rude and illiterate nations are tenacious of their laws and manners; for they are governed by cuſtom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are poliſhed by having paſſed through various ſcenes, are full of invention, and conſtantly thinking of new modes. Manners in particular can never be ſtationary, in a nation which is refined by proſperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization; but the very beſt government will not preſerve them from corruption, after becoming rich by proſperity. Opulence begets luxury, and envigorates the appetite for ſenſual pleaſure. The appetite, when inflamed, is never confined within moderate bounds, but clings to every object of gratification, without regard to propriety or decency. When Septimius Severus was elected Emperor, he found on the roll of cauſes depending before the judges in Rome no

fewer

fewer than three thouſand accuſations of adultery. From that moment he abandoned all thoughts of attempting a reformation. Love of pleaſure is ſimilar to love of money: the more they are indulged the more they are inflamed. Polygamy is an incentive to the vice againſt nature; one act of incontinence leading to others, without end. When the Sultan Achmet was depoſed at Conſtantinople, the people breaking into the houſe of one of his favourites, found not a ſingle woman. It is reported of the Algerines, that in many of their ſeraglios there are no women. For the ſame reaſon, polygamy is far from preventing adultery, a truth finely illuſtrated in Nathan's parable to David. What judgement then are we to form of the opulent cities London and Paris, where pleaſure is the ruling paſſion, and where riches are coveted as inſtruments of ſenſuality? What is to be expected but a peſtiferous corruption of manners? Selfiſhneſs, ingroſſing the whole ſoul, eradicates patriotiſm, and leaves not a cranny for ſocial virtue. If in that condition men abſtain from robbery or from murder, it is not love of juſtice that reſtrains them, but dread of puniſhment. Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, ſenſuality, and profligacy. But Babylon repreſents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern: the manners of all are the ſame; for power and riches never fail to produce luxury, ſenſuality, and profligacy. Canghi Emperor of China, who died in the year 1722, deſerves to be recorded in the annals of fame, for reſiſting the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of an Aſiatic court. Far from abandoning himſelf to ſenſual pleaſure, he paſſed ſeveral months yearly in the mountains of Tartary, moſtly on horſeback, and declining no fatigue. Nor in that ſituation were affairs of ſtate neglected: many hours he borrowed from ſleep, to hear his miniſters, and to iſſue orders. How few monarchs, bred up like Canghi in the downy indolence of a ſeraglio, have reſolution to withſtand the temptations of ſenſual pleaſure!

In

:h a hundred talents of ſilver. They alſo conſented to adm
rriſon of 2000 men, in order, as Lucullus pretended, to
iem againſt their enemies. But how were they protected? T
gates were opened by the garriſon to the whole army; and the in-
habitants were butchered, without diſtinction of ſex or age. What
other remedy had they, but to invoke the gods preſiding over oaths
and covenants, and to pour out execrations againſt the Romans
for their perfidy? Lucullus, enriched with the ſpoils of the town,
felt no remorſe for leaving 20,000 perſons dead upon the ſpot.
Shortly after, having laid ſiege to Intercatia, he ſolicited a treaty
of peace. The citizens, reproaching him with the ſlaughter of
the Cauceans, aſked, whether, in making peace, he was not to
employ the ſame right hand, and the ſame faith, he had already
pledged to their countrymen. Seroclius Galba, another Roman
general, perſuaded the Luſitanians to lay down their arms, pro-
miſing them a fruitful territory inſtead of their own mountains;
and having thus got them into his power, he ordered all of them
to be murdered. Of the few that eſcaped Viriatus was one, who,
in a long and bloody war againſt the Romans, amply avenged
the maſſacre of his countrymen. Our author Appian reports, that
Galba, ſurpaſſing even Lucullus in covetouſneſs, diſtributed but
a ſmall ſhare of the plunder among the ſoldiers, converting the
bulk of it to his own uſe. He adds, that tho' Galba was one of
the richeſt men in Rome, yet he never ſcrupled at lies nor perjury
to procure money. But the corruption was general: Galba being
accuſed of many miſdemeanors, was acquitted by the ſenate
through the force of bribes. A tribe of the Celtiberians, who had
long ſerved the Romans againſt the Luſitanians, had an offer made
them by Titus Didius of a territory in their neighbourhood, lately
conquered by him. He appointed them a day to receive poſſe
ſion; and having incloſed them in his camp under ſhew of frien
ſhip, he put them all to the ſword; for which mighty deed he c
tai

tained the honour of a triumph. The double-dealing and treachery of the Romans, in their laſt war againſt Carthage, is beyond example. The Carthaginians ſuſpecting that a ſtorm was gathering againſt them, ſent deputies to Rome for ſecuring peace at any rate. The ſenate, in appearance, were diſpoſed to amicable meaſures, demanding only hoſtages; and yet, tho' three hundred hoſtages were delivered without loſs of time, the Roman army landed at Utica. The Carthaginian deputies attended the conſuls there, deſiring to know what more was to be done on their part. They were required to deliver up their arms; which they chearfully did, imagining that they were now certain of peace. Inſtead of which, they received peremptory orders to evacuate the city, with their wives and children; and to take up no habitation within eighty furlongs of the ſea. In peruſing Appian's hiſtory of that memorable event, compaſſion for the diſtreſſed Carthaginians is ſtifled by indignation at their treacherous oppreſſors. Durſt the monſters after ſuch treachery talk of *Punica fides?* The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus, is painted in lively colours by the ſame author. "For "a long time, diſorder and confuſion overſpread the common-"wealth: no office was obtained but by faction, bribery, or cri-"minal ſervice: no man was aſhamed to buy votes, which were "ſold in open market. One man there was, who, to obtain a "lucrative office, expended eight hundred talents (*a*): ill men "enriched themſelves with public money, or with bribes: no "honeſt man would ſtand candidate for an office; and into a ſi-"tuation ſo miſerable was the commonwealth reduced, that once "for eight months it had not a ſingle magiſtrate." Cicero, writing to Atticus that Clodius was acquitted by the influence of Craſſus, expreſſes himſelf in the following words. "Biduo, per unum

(*a*) About L. 150,000 Sterling.

" ſervum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium. " Accerſivit ad ſe, promiſit, interceſſit, dedit. Jam vero, O dii " boni, rem perditam! etiam noctes certarum mulierum, atque " adoleſcentulorum nobilium, introductiones nonnullis judicibus " pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt * (*a*)." Ptolomy King of Egypt was dethroned by his ſubjects for tyranny. Having repaired to Rome for protection, he found means to poiſon the greater part of a hundred Egyptians, his accuſers, and to aſſaſſinate Dion, their chief. And yet theſe crimes, perpetrated in the heart of Rome, were ſuffered to paſs with impunity. But he had ſecured the leading men by bribery, and was protected by Pompey. The following inſtance is, if poſſible, ſtill more groſs. Ptolomy, King of Cyprus, had always been a faithful ally to the Romans. But his gold, jewels, and precious moveables, were a tempting bait to the avarice of Rome; and all was confiſcated by a decree of the people, without even a pretext. Money procured by profligacy is not commonly hoarded up; and the Romans were no leſs voluptuous than avaricious. Alexander ab Alexandro mentions the Fanian, Orchian, Didian, Oppian, Cornelian, Ancian, and Julian laws, for repreſſing luxury of dreſs and of eating, all of which proved ineffectual. He adds, that Tiberius had it long at heart to contrive ſome effectual law againſt luxury, which now had ſurpaſſed all bounds; but that he found it impracticable to ſtem the tide. He concludes, that by tacit agreement among a corrupted

* " In two days he completed the affair, by the means of one ſlave, a gladiator. " He ſent for him, and by promiſes, wheedling, and large gifts, he gain'd his " point. Good God, to what an infamous height has corruption at length ar- " rived! Some judges were rewarded with a night's lodging of certain ladies; " and others, for an illuſtrious bribe, had ſome young boys of Noble family in- " troduced to them."

(*a*) Lib. 1. epiſt 13.

people

people all ſumptuary laws were in effect abrogated; and that the Roman people, abandoning themſelves to vice, broke through every reſtraint of morality and religion (*a*). Tremble, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice! how little diſtant in rapacity from Roman ſenators are the leaders of thy people!

Riches produce another lamentable effect: they enervate the poſſeſſor, and degrade him into a coward. He who commands the labour of others, who eats without hunger, and reſts without fatigue, becomes feeble in mind, as well as in body, has no confidence in his own abilities, and is reduced to flatter his enemies, becauſe he hath not courage to brave them.

Selfiſhneſs among the rude and illiterate is rough, blunt, and undiſguiſed. Selfiſhneſs, which in an opulent kingdom uſurps the place of patriotiſm, is ſmooth, refined, and covered with a veil. Pecuniary intereſt, a low object, muſt be covered with the thickeſt veil: ambition, leſs diſhonourable, is leſs covered: but delicacy as to character and love of fame, are ſo honourable, that even the thinneſt veil is reckoned unneceſſary. Hiſtory juſtifies theſe obſervations. During the proſperity of Greece and Rome, when patriotiſm was the ruling paſſion, no man ever thought of employing a hoſtile weapon but againſt the enemies of his country: ſwords were not worn during peace, nor do we ever read of a private duel. The frequency of duels in modern times is no ſlight ſymptom of degeneracy: regardleſs of our country, ſelfiſhneſs is exerted without diſguiſe, when reputation or character is in queſtion; and a nice ſenſe of honour prompts revenge for every imagined affront, without regard to juſtice. How much more manly and patriotic was the behaviour of Themiſtocles, when inſulted by the Lacedemonian general in deliberating about the concerns of Greece! "Strike," ſays he, "but firſt hear me."

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 11.

When

When a nation, formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate, is depreſſed by luxury and ſelfiſhneſs, what follows next? Let the Egyptians anſwer the queſtion. That unhappy people, having for many ages been a prey to every barbarous invader, are now become effeminate, treacherous, cruel, and corrupted with every vice that debaſes humanity. A nation in its infancy, however ſavage, is ſuſceptible of every improvement; but a nation worn out with age and diſeaſe is ſuſceptible of no improvement. There is no remedy, but to let the natives die out, and to repeople the country with better men.

I fly from a ſcene ſo diſmal to one that will give no pain. Light is intended by our Maker for action, and darkneſs for reſt. In the fourteenth century, the ſhops in Paris were opened at four in the morning: at preſent, a ſhopkeeper is ſcarce awake at ſeven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bedchamber at the ſame hour in the evening; an early hour at preſent for public amuſements. The Spaniards adhere to ancient cuſtoms *. Their King to this day dines preciſely at noon, and ſups no leſs preciſely at nine in the evening. During the reign of Henry VIII. faſhionable people in England breakfaſted at ſeven in the morning, and dined at ten in the forenoon. In Eliſabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and ſtudents, dined at eleven forenoon, and ſupped between five and ſix afternoon. In the reign of Charles II. four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At preſent, even dinner is at a later hour. The King of Yeman, the greateſt prince in Arabia Fœlix, dines at nine in the morning, ſups at five after noon, and goes to reſt at eleven. From this ſhort ſpecimen it appears, that the occupations of daylight commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency in polite nations of converting night into day, and day into night. Nothing happens without a cauſe. Light diſpoſes to

* Manners and faſhions ſeldom change where women are locked up.

action,

action, darkneſs to reſt: The diverſions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and ſuch like active exerciſes: the diverſions of night are ſedentary; plays, cards, converſation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly ſedentary in converſing. Formerly, active exerciſes prevailed among a robuſt and plain people: the milder pleaſures of ſociety prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amuſements are now faſhionable in France, and in other poliſhed countries; and when ſuch amuſements are much reliſhed, they baniſh the robuſt exerciſes of the field. Balls, I conjecture, were formerly more frequent in day-light: at preſent, candle-light is their favourite time: the active part is at that time equally agreeable; and the ſedentary part, much more ſo.

Gaming is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming; and thoſe of North America in particular, are fond to diſtraction of a game termed *the platter*. A loſing gameſter will ſtrip himſelf to the ſkin; and ſome have been known to ſtake their liberty, tho' by them valued above all other bleſſings. Negroes in the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea will ſtake their wives, their children, and even themſelves. Tacitus (*a*), talking of gaming among the Germans, ſays, "Extremo ac noviſſimo jactu, de libertate et de "corpore contendant *." The Greeks were an active and ſprightly people, conſtantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leiſure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance; for no other vice tends more to render men ſelfiſh, diſhoneſt, and, in the modiſh ſtyle, diſhonourable. A gameſter, a friend to no man, is a bitter enemy to himſelf. The luxurious of the preſent age, paſs every hour in gaming that can be ſpared from ſenſual pleaſure. Idle-

* "For their laſt throw they ſtake their liberty and life."

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, c. 24.

neſs

neſs is their excuſe, as it is among ſavages; and they would in ſome degree be excuſable, were they never actuated by a more diſgraceful motive.

Writers do not carefully diſtinguiſh, particular cuſtoms from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the ſtage in France, Italy, or England. At that very time, none but women were admitted in Spain. From that faſhion it would be raſh to infer, that women have more liberty in Spain than in the other countries mentioned; for the contrary is true. In Hindoſtan, eſtabliſhed cuſtom prompts women to burn themſelves alive with the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands; but from that ſingular cuſtom, it would be a falſe inference, that the Hindow women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their huſbands, than in other countries. The Polanders, even after they became Chriſtians in the thirteenth century, adhered to the cuſtoms of their forefathers, the Sarmatians; the killing, for example, infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a ſingular cuſtom. Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England nor in Holland, becauſe, from a ſpirit of civil liberty, all ſects are there tolerated. The encouragement given to aſſaſſination in Italy, where every church is a ſanctuary, makes ſtrangers raſhly infer, that the Italians are all aſſaſſins. Writers ſometimes fall into an oppoſite miſtake, attributing to a particular nation, certain manners and cuſtoms common to all nations in one or other period of their progreſs. It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations, in their progreſs from the ſhepherd-ſtate to that of huſbandry; and is at preſent the practice among American ſavages. The ſame author obſerves as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphitæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft.

But

But that practice is common among all ſavages in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, before the uſe of money is known.

Hitherto there appears as great uniformity in the progreſs of manners, as can reaſonably be expected among ſo many different nations. There is one exception, extraordinary indeed if true, which is, the manners of the Caledonians deſcribed by Oſſian, manners ſo pure and refined as ſcarce to be equalled in the moſt cultivated nations. Such manners among a people in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, acquainted with no arts but hunting and making war, would, I acknowledge, be miraculous: and yet to ſuppoſe all to be invented by an illiterate ſavage, ſeems little leſs miraculous. One, at firſt view, will, without hefitation, declare the whole a pure fiction; for how is it credible, that a people, rude at preſent and illiterate, were, in the infancy of their ſociety, highly refined in ſentiments and manners? And yet upon a more accurate inſpection, many weighty conſiderations occur to balance that opinion.

From a thouſand circumſtances it appears, that the works of Oſſian are not a late production. They are compoſed in an old dialect of the Celtic tongue; and as, till of late, they were known only in the highlands of Scotland, the author muſt have been a Caledonian. The tranſlator (*a*) ſaw in the Iſle of Sky the firſt four books of the poem Fingal, written in a fair hand on vellum, and bearing date in the year 1403. The natives believe that poem to be very ancient: every perſon has paſſages of it by heart, tranſmitted by memory from their forefathers. Their dogs bear commonly the name of *Luath*, *Bran*, &c. mentioned in theſe poems, as our dogs do of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* *. Many other particulars might

(*a*) Mr Macpherſon.

* In the Iſle of Sky, the ruins of the caſtle of Dunſcaich upon an inacceſſible rock

might be mentioned; but theſe are ſufficient to evince, that the work muſt have exiſted at leaſt three or four centuries. And taking that for granted, I proceed to certain conſiderations tending to evince, that the manners deſcribed in Oſſian were Caledonian manners, and not a pure fiction. And after peruſing with attention theſe conſiderations, I am not afraid that even the moſt incredulous will continue altogether unſhaken.

It is a noted and well-founded obſervation, That manners are never painted to the life by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to draw the outlines of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners aſſume in different ſituations, uniting all in one entire whole,—*hic labor, hoc opus eſt.* Yet the manners here ſuppoſed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of ſentiments, of images, and of alluſions, making one entire picture, without once deviating into the ſlighteſt incongruity. Every ſcene in Oſſian relates to hunting, to fighting, and to love, the ſole occupations of men in the original ſtate of ſociety: there is not a ſingle image, ſimile, nor alluſion, but what is borrowed from that ſtate, without a jarring circumſtance. Suppoſing all to be mere invention, is it not amazing to find no mention of highland clans, nor of any name now in uſe? Is it not ſtill more amazing, that there is not the ſlighteſt hint of the Chriſtian religion, not even in a metaphor or alluſion? Is it not equally amazing, that in a work where deer's fleſh is frequently mentioned, and a curious method of roaſting it, there ſhould not be a word of fiſh as food, which is ſo common in later times? Very few

rock hanging over the ſea, are ſtill viſible. That caſtle, as vouched by tradition, belonged to Cuchullin Lord of that Iſle, whoſe hiſtory is recorded in the Poem of Fingal. Upon the green before the caſtle there is a great ſtone, to which, according to the ſame tradition, his dog Luath was chained.

highlanders

highlanders know that their forefathers did not eat fiſh; and ſuppoſing it to be known, it would require attention more than human, never once to mention it. Can it be ſuppoſed, that a modern writer could be ſo conſtantly on his guard, as never to mention corn, nor cattle? In a ſtory ſo ſcanty of poetical images, the ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, and the induſtry of a huſbandman, would make a capital figure: the cloven foot would ſomewhere appear. And yet in all the works of Oſſian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a ſlight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two alluſions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: Suppoſing the author of Oſſian to be a late writer, embelliſhed with every refinement of modern education; yet even upon that ſuppoſition he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient or modern.

But difficulties multiply, when it is taken into the account, that the poems of Oſſian have exiſted three or four centuries at leaſt. Our highlanders at preſent are rude and illiterate; and were in fact little better than ſavages at the period mentioned. Now to hold the manners deſcribed in that work to be imaginary, is in effect to hold, that they were invented by a highland ſavage, acquainted with the rude manners of his country, but utterly unacquainted with every other ſyſtem of manners. From what ſource did he draw the refined manners ſo deliciouſly painted by him? Suppoſing him to have been a traveller, of which we have not the ſlighteſt hint, the manners at that period of France, of Italy, and of other neighbouring nations, were little leſs barbarous than thoſe of his own country. I can diſcover no ſource other than direct inſpiration. In a word, whoever ſeriouſly believes the manners of Oſſian to be fictitious, may well ſay, with the religious enthuſiaſt, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt:* "I believe it becauſe it is impoſ-
" ſible."

But further: The uncommon talents of the author of this work

will cheerfully be acknowledged by every reader of taſte: he certainly was a great maſter in his way. Now, whether the work be late, or compoſed four centuries ago, a man of ſuch talents inventing a hiſtorical fable, and laying the ſcene of action among ſavages in the hunter-ſtate, would naturally frame a ſyſtem of manners the beſt ſuited in his opinion to that ſtate. What then could tempt him to adopt a ſyſtem of manners ſo oppoſite to any notion he could frame of ſavage manners? The abſurdity is ſo groſs, that we are forced, however reluctantly, to believe, that theſe manners are not fictitious, but in reality the manners of his country, coloured perhaps, or a little heightened, according to the privilege of an epic poet. And once admitting that fact, there can be no heſitation in aſcribing the work to Oſſian, ſon of Fingal, whoſe name it bears: we have no better evidence for the authors of ſeveral Greek and Roman books. Upon the ſame evidence we muſt believe, that Oſſian lived in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, of whom frequent mention is made under the deſignation of *Caracul the Great King*; at which period the ſhepherd-ſtate was ſcarce known in Caledonia, and huſbandry not at all. Had he lived ſo late as the twelfth century, when there were flocks and herds in that country, and ſome ſort of agriculture, a poet of genius, ſuch as Oſſian undoubtedly was, would have drawn from theſe his fineſt images.

The foregoing conſiderations, I am perſuaded, would not fail to convert the moſt incredulous, were it not for a conſequence extremely improbable, that a people, little better at preſent than ſavages, were in their primitive hunter-ſtate highly refined; for ſuch Oſſian deſcribes them. And yet it is not leſs improbable that ſuch manners ſhould be invented by an illiterate highland bard. Let a man chuſe either ſide, the difficulty cannot be ſolved but by a miracle. What ſhall we conclude upon the whole? for the mind cannot for ever remain in ſuſpenſe. As dry reaſoning has

has left us in a dilemma, taſte perhaps and feeling may extricate us. May not the caſe be here as in real painting? A portrait drawn from fancy may reſemble the human viſage; but ſuch peculiarity of countenance and expreſſion as ſerves to diſtinguiſh a certain perſon from every other, is always wanting. Preſent a portrait to a man of taſte, and he will be at no loſs to ſay, whether it be copied from the life, or be the product of fancy. If Oſſian paint from fancy, the cloven foot will appear: but if his portraits be complete, ſo as to expreſs every peculiarity of character, why ſhould we doubt of their being copied from life? In that view, the reader, I am hopeful, will not think his time thrown away in examining ſome of Oſſian's ſtriking pictures. I ſee not another reſource.

Love of fame is painted by Oſſian as the ruling paſſion of his countrymen the Caledonians. Warriors are every where deſcribed, as eſteeming it their chief happineſs to be recorded in the ſongs of the bards: that feature is never wanting in any of Oſſian's heroes. Take the following inſtances. "King of the roaring "Strumon, ſaid the riſing joy of Fingal, do I behold thee in "arms after thy ſtrength has failed? Often hath Morni ſhone "in battles, like the beam of the riſing ſun, when he diſperſes "the ſtorms of the hill, and brings peace to the glittering fields. "But why didſt thou not reſt in thine age? Thy renown is in "the ſong: the people behold thee, and bleſs the departure of "mighty Morni (*a*). Son of Fingal, he ſaid, why burns the ſoul "of Gaul? My heart beats high: my ſteps are diſordered; and "my hand trembles on my ſword. When I look toward the foe, "my ſoul lightens before me, and I ſee their ſleeping hoſt. "Tremble thus the ſouls of the valiant in battles of the ſpear? "How would the ſoul of Morni riſe if we ſhould ruſh on the foe!

(*a*) Lathmon.

"Our

" Our renown would grow in the ſong, and our ſteps be ſtately " in the eye of the brave * (*a*)."

That a warrior has acquired his fame is a conſolation in every diſtreſs: " Carril, ſaid the King in ſecret, the ſtrength of Cu- " chullin fails. My days are with the years that are paſt; and " no morning of mine ſhall ariſe. They ſhall ſeek me at Temora, " but I ſhall not be found. Cormac will weep in his hall, and " ſay, Where is Tura's chief? But my name is renowned, my " fame in the ſong of bards. The youth will ſay in ſecret, *O let* " *me die as Cuchullin died: renown clothed him like a robe; and the* " *light of his fame is great.* Draw the arrow from my ſide; and " lay Cuchullin below that oak. Place the ſhield of Caithbat near, " that they may behold me amid the arms of my fathers (*b*)." Fingal ſpeaks: " Ullin, my aged bard, take the ſhip of the King. " Carry Oſcar to Selma, and let the daughters of Morven weep. " We ſhall fight in Erin for the race of fallen Cormac. The days " of my years begin to fail: I feel the weakneſs of my arm. My " fathers bend from their clouds to receive their gray-hair'd ſon. " But, Trenmor! before I go hence, one beam of my fame ſhall " riſe: in fame ſhall my days end, as my years begun: my life " ſhall be one ſtream of light to other times (*c*)." Oſſian ſpeaks:

* Love of fame is a laudable paſſion, which every man values himſelf upon. Fame in war is acquired by courage and candour, which are eſteemed by all: it is not acquired by fighting for ſpoil, becauſe avarice is deſpiſed by all. The ſpoils of an enemy were diſplay'd at a Roman triumph, not for their own ſake, but as a mark of victory. When nations at war degenerate from love of fame to love of gain, ſtratagem, deceit, breach of faith, and every ſort of immorality, are never-failing conſequences.

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) The death of Cuchullin.

(*c*) Temora.

" Did

" Did thy beauty laſt, O Ryno! ſtood the ſtrength of car-borne " Oſcar *! Fingal himſelf paſſed away, and the halls of his fa- " thers forgot his ſteps. And ſhalt thou remain, aged bard, when " the mighty have failed? But my fame ſhall remain; and grow " like the oak of Morven, which lifts its broad head to the ſtorm, " and rejoiceth in the courſe of the wind (*a*)."

The chief cauſe of affliction when a young man is cut off in battle, is his not having received his fame: " And fell the ſwifteſt " in the race, ſaid the King, the firſt to bend the bow? Thou " ſcarce haſt been known to me; why did young Ryno fall? But " ſleep thou ſoftly on Lena, Fingal ſhall ſoon behold thee. Soon " ſhall my voice be heard no more, and my footſteps ceaſe to be " ſeen. The bards will tell of Fingal's name: the ſtones will talk " of me. But, Ryno! thou art low indeed, thou haſt not re- " ceived thy fame. Ullin, ſtrike the harp for Ryno; tell what " the chief would have been. Farewell thou firſt in every field. " No more ſhall I direct thy dart. Thou that haſt been ſo fair; " I behold thee not.——Farewell (*b*)." " Calthon ruſhed into the " ſtream: I bounded forward on my ſpear: Teutha's race fell " before us: night came rolling down. Dunthalmo reſted on a " rock, amidſt an aged wood: the rage of his boſom burned a- " gainſt the car-borne Calthon. But Calthon ſtood in his grief; " he mourned the fallen Colmar; Colmar ſlain in youth, before " his fame aroſe (*c*)."

* Several of Offian's heroes are deſcribed as fighting in cars. The Britons in general fought in that manner. Britanni dimicant non equitatu modo, aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus. *Pomponius Mela, l.* 3.—[*In Engliſh thus:* " The Bri- " tons fight, not only with cavalry, or foot, but alſo with cars and chariots."]

(*a*) Berrathon.

(*b*) Fingal.

(*c*) Calthon and Colmar.

Lamentation

Lamentation for loſs of fame. Cuchullin ſpeaks: "But, O ye "ghoſts of the lonely Cromla! ye ſouls of chiefs that are no "more! be ye the companions of Cuchullin, and talk to him in "the cave of his ſorrow. For never more ſhall I be renowned "among the mighty in the land. I am like a beam that has "ſhone; like a miſt that fled away when the blaſt of the morning "came, and brightened the ſhaggy ſide of the hill. Connal, talk "of arms no more: departed is my fame. My ſighs ſhall be on "Cromla's wind, till my footſteps ceaſe to be ſeen. And thou "white-boſom'd Bragéla, mourn over the fall of my fame; for, "vanquiſhed, never will I return to thee, thou ſun-beam of "Dunſcaich (*a*)."

Love of fame begets heroic actions, which go hand in hand with elevated ſentiments: of the former there are examples in every page; of the latter take the following examples. "And let "him come, replied the King. I love a foe like Cathmor: his "ſoul is great; his arm ſtrong; and his battles full of fame. "But the little ſoul is like a vapour that hovers round the marſhy "lake, which never riſes on the green hill, leſt the winds meet it "there (*b*)." Oſſian ſpeaks: "But let us fly, ſon of Morni, "Lathmon deſcends the hill. Then let our ſteps be ſlow, replied "the fair-hair'd Gaul, leſt the foe ſay with a ſmile, Behold the "warriors of night: they are like ghoſts, terrible in darkneſs; "but they melt away before the beam of the Eaſt (*c*)." "Son of "the feeble hand, ſaid Lathmon, ſhall my hoſt deſcend! They "are but two, and ſhall a thouſand lift their ſteel! Nuah would "mourn in his hall for the departure of Lathmon's fame: his "eyes would turn from Lathmon, when the tread of his feet ap-

(*a*) Fingal.

(*b*) Lathmon.

(*c*) Lathmon.

"proached.

" proached. Go thou to the heroes, ſon of Dutha, for I behold " the ſtately ſteps of Oſſian. His fame is worthy of my ſteel: " let him fight with Lathmon (*a*)." " Fingal does not delight in " battle, tho' his arm is ſtrong. My renown grows on the fall of " the haughty: the lightning of my ſteel pours on the proud in " arms. The battle comes; and the tombs of the valiant riſe; " the tombs of my people riſe, O my fathers! and I at laſt muſt " remain alone. But I will remain renowned, and the departure " of my ſoul ſhall be one ſtream of light (*b*)." " I raiſed my voice " for Fovar-gormo, when they laid the chief in earth. The aged " Crothar was there, but his ſigh was not heard. He ſearched " for the wound of his ſon, and found it in his breaſt: joy roſe " in the face of the aged: he came and ſpoke to Oſſian: King of " ſpears, my ſon hath not fallen without his fame: the young " warrior did not fly, but met death as he went forward in his " ſtrength. Happy are they who die in youth, when their re- " nown is heard: their memory ſhall be honoured in the ſong; " the young tear of the virgin falls (*c*)." " Cuchullin kindled at " the fight, and darkneſs gathered on his brow. His hand was " on the ſword of his fathers: his red-rolling eye on the foe. He " thrice attempted to ruſh to battle, and thrice did Connal ſtop " him. Chief of the iſle of miſt, he ſaid, Fingal ſubdues the " foe: ſeek not a part of the fame of the King (*d*)."

The pictures that Oſſian draws of his countrymen are no leſs remarkable for tender ſentiments, than for elevation. Parental affection is finely touched in the following paſſage. " Son of Com-

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) Lathmon.

(*c*) Croma.

(*d*) Fingal.

" hal, replied the chief, the ſtrength of Morni's arm has failed. " I attempt to draw the ſword of my youth, but it remains in its " place: I throw the ſpear, but it falls ſhort of the mark; and I " feel the weight of my ſhield. We decay like the graſs of the " mountain, and our ſtrength returns no more. I have a ſon, O " Fingal! his ſoul has delighted in the actions of Morni's youth; " but his ſword has not been lifted againſt the foe, neither has " his fame begun. I come with him to battle, to direct his arm. " His renown will be a ſun to my ſoul, in the dark hour of my " departure. O that the name of Morni were forgot among the " people, that the heroes would only ſay, Behold the father of " Gaul (*a*)!" And no leſs finely touched is grief for the loſs of children: " We ſaw Oſcar leaning on his ſhield: we ſaw his " blood around. Silence darkened on the face of every hero: " each turned his back and wept. The King ſtrove to hide his " tears. He bends his head over his ſon; and his words are " mixed with ſighs. And art thou fallen, Oſcar, in the midſt of " thy courſe! The heart of the aged beats over thee. I ſee thy " coming battles: I behold the battles that ought to come, but " they are cut off from thy fame. When ſhall joy dwell at Sel- " ma? when ſhall the ſong of grief ceaſe on Morven? My ſons " fall by degrees, Fingal will be the laſt of his race. The fame I " have received ſhall paſs away: my age ſhall be without friends. " I ſhall ſit like a grey cloud in my hall: nor ſhall I expect the re- " turn of a ſon with his ſounding arms. Weep, ye heroes of Mor- " ven; never more will Oſcar riſe (*b*)." Crothar ſpeaks. " Son " of Fingal! doſt thou not behold the darkneſs of Crothar's hall " of ſhells? My ſoul was not dark at the feaſt, when my people " lived. I rejoiced in the preſence of ſtrangers, when my ſon

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) Temora.

" ſhone

" ſhone in the hall. But, Oſſian, he is a beam that is departed, and " left no ſtreak of light behind. He is fallen, ſon of Fingal, in the " battles of his father.——Rothmar, the chief of graſſy Tromlo, " heard that my eyes had failed; he heard, that my arms were " fixed in the hall, and the pride of his ſoul aroſe. He came to- " ward Croma; my people fell before him. I took my arms in " the hall; but what could ſightleſs Crothar do? My ſteps were " unequal; my grief was great. I wiſhed for the days that were " paſt, days wherein I fought and won in the field of blood. My " ſon returned from the chace, the fair-hair'd Fovar-gormo. He " had not lifted his ſword in battle, for his arm was young. But " the ſoul of the youth was great; the fire of valour burnt in his " eyes. He ſaw the diſordered ſteps of his father, and his ſigh " aroſe. King of Croma, he ſaid, is it becauſe thou haſt no ſon; " is it for the weakneſs of Fovar-gormo's arm that thy ſighs a- " riſe? I begin, my father, to feel the ſtrength of my arm; I " have drawn the ſword of my youth; and I have bent the bow. " Let me meet this Rothmar with the youths of Croma: let me " meet him, O my father; for I feel my burning ſoul. And " thou ſhalt meet him, I ſaid, ſon of the ſightleſs Crothar! But " let others advance before thee, that I may hear the tread of thy " feet at thy return; for my eyes behold thee not, fair-hair'd " Fovar-gormo!——He went, he met the foe; he fell. The foe " advances toward Croma. He who ſlew my ſon is near, with all " his pointed ſpears (*a*)."

The following ſentiments about the ſhortneſs of human life are pathetic. " Deſolate is the dwelling of Moina, ſilence in the houſe " of her fathers. Raiſe the ſong of mourning over the ſtrangers. " One day we muſt fall; and they have only fallen before us.—— " Why doſt thou build the hall, ſon of the winged days! Thou

(*a*) Croma.

" lookeſt from thy towers to day: ſoon will the blaſt of the deſert
" come. It howls in thy empty court, and whiſtles over thy half-
" worn ſhield (*a*)." " How long ſhall we weep on Lena, or pour
" our tears in Ullin! The mighty will not return; nor Oſcar riſe
" in his ſtrength: the valiant muſt fall one day, and be no more
" known. Where are our fathers, O warriors, the chiefs of the
" times of old! They are ſet, like ſtars that have ſhone: we only
" hear the ſound of their praiſe. But they were renowned in
" their day, and the terror of other times. Thus ſhall we paſs,
" O warriors, in the day of our fall. Then let us be renowned
" while we may; and leave our fame behind us, like the laſt
" beams of the ſun, when he hides his red head in the weſt (*b*)."

In Homer's time, heroes were greedy of plunder; and, like robbers, were much diſpoſed to inſult a vanquiſhed foe. According to Oſſian, the ancient Caledonians had no idea of plunder: and as they fought for fame only, their humanity overflow'd to the vanquiſhed. American ſavages, it is true, are not addicted to plunder, and are ready to beſtow on the firſt comer what trifles they force from the enemy. But they have no notion of a pitched battle, nor of ſingle combat: on the contrary, they value themſelves upon ſlaughtering their enemies by ſurpriſe, without riſking their own ſweet perſons. Agreeable to the magnanimous character given by Oſſian of his countrymen, we find humanity blended with courage in all their actions. " Fingal pitied the
" white-armed maid: he ſtayed the uplifted ſword. The tear
" was in the eye of the King, as bending forward he ſpoke:
" King of ſtreamy Sora, fear not the ſword of Fingal: it was ne-
" ver ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed; it never pierced
" a fallen foe. Let thy people rejoice along the blue waters of

(*a*) Carthon.

(*b*) Temora.

" Tora:

" Tora: let the maids of thy love be glad. Why ſhould'ſt thou " fall in thy youth, King of ſtreamy Sora (*a*)!" Fingal ſpeaks: " Son of my ſtrength, he ſaid, take the ſpear of Fingal: go to " Teutha's mighty ſtream, and ſave the car-borne Colmar. Let " thy fame return before thee like a pleaſant gale; that my ſoul " may rejoice over my ſon, who renews the renown of our fa- " thers. Oſſian! be thou a ſtorm in battle, but mild where the " foes are low. It was thus my fame aroſe, O my ſon; and be " thou like Selma's chief. When the haughty come to my hall, " my eyes behold them not; but my arm is ſtretched forth to " the unhappy, my ſword defends the weak (*b*)." " O Oſcar! " bend the ſtrong in arm, but ſpare the feeble hand. Be thou a " ſtream of many tides againſt the foes of thy people, but like the " gale that moves the graſs to thoſe who aſk thy aid. Never " ſearch for the battle, nor ſhun it when it comes. So Trenmor " lived; ſuch Trathal was; and ſuch has Fingal been. My arm " was the ſupport of the injured; and the weak reſted behind the " lightning of my ſteel (*c*)."

Humanity to the vanquiſhed is diſplay'd in the following paſſages. After defeating in battle Swaran King of Lochlin, Fingal ſays, " Raiſe, Ullin, raiſe the ſong of peace, and ſoothe my ſoul " after battle, that my ear may forget the noiſe of arms. And " let a hundred harps be near to gladden the King of Lochlin: " he muſt depart from us with joy: none ever went ſad from " Fingal. Oſcar, the lightning of my ſword is againſt the ſtrong; " but peaceful it hangs by my ſide when warriors yield in " battle (*d*)" " Uthal fell beneath my ſword, and the ſons of

(*a*) Carric-thura.

(*b*) Calthon and Colmal.

(*c*) Fingal, book 3.

(*d*) Fingal, book 6.

" Berrathon

" Berrathon fled. It was then I ſaw him in his beauty, and the " tear hung in my eye. Thou art fallen, young tree, I ſaid, with " all thy budding beauties round thee. The winds come from " the deſert, and there is no ſound in thy leaves. Lovely art " thou in death, ſon of car-borne Lathmor (*a*)."

After the ſcenes above exhibited, it will not be thought that Oſſian deviates from the manners repreſented by him, in deſcribing the hoſpitality of his chieftains: " We heard the voice of joy on " the coaſt, and we thought that the mighty Cathmor came; " Cathmor, the friend of ſtrangers, the brother of red-hair'd Cair- " bar. But their ſouls were not the ſame; for the light of " heaven was in the boſom of Cathmor. His towers roſe on " the banks of Atha: ſeven paths led to his hall: ſeven chiefs " ſtood on theſe paths, and called the ſtranger to the feaſt. But " Cathmor dwelt in the wood, to avoid the voice of praiſe (*b*)." " Rathmor was a chief of Clutha. The feeble dwelt in his hall. " The gates of Rathmor were never cloſed: his feaſt was always " ſpread. The ſons of the ſtranger came, and bleſſed the gene- " rous chief of Clutha. Bards raiſed the ſong, and touched the " harp: joy brightened on the face of the mournful. Dunthal- " mo came in his pride, and ruſhed into combat with Rathmor. " The chief of Clutha overcame. The rage of Dunthalmo roſe: " he came by night with his warriors; and the mighty Rathmor " fell: he fell in his hall, where his feaſt had been often ſpread " for ſtrangers (*c*)." It ſeems not to exceed the magnanimity of his chieftains, intent upon glory only, to feaſt even their enemies before a battle. Cuchullin, after the firſt day's engagement with Swaran, King of Lochlin or Scandinavia, ſays to Carril, one of

(*a*) Berrathon.

(*b*) Temora.

(*c*) Calthon and Colmal.

his

his bards, " Is this feaſt ſpread for me alone, and the King of " Lochlin on Ullin's ſhore; far from the deer of his hills, and " ſounding halls of his feaſts? Riſe, Carril of other times, and " carry my words to Swaran; tell him from the roaring of wa- " ters, that Cuchullin gives his feaſt. Here let him liſten to the " ſound of my groves amid the clouds of night: for cold and " bleak the bluſtering winds ruſh over the foam of his ſeas. Here " let him praiſe the trembling harp, and hear the ſongs of he- " roes (*a*)." The Scandinavian King, leſs poliſhed, refuſed the invitation. Cairbar ſpeaks: " Spread the feaſt on Lena, and let " my hundred bards attend. And thou, red-hair'd Olla, take the " harp of the King. Go to Oſcar, King of ſwords, and bid him " to our feaſt. To-day we feaſt and hear the ſong; to-morrow " break the ſpears (*b*)." " Olla came with his ſongs. Oſcar went " to Cairbar's feaſt. Three hundred heroes attend the chief, and " the clang of their arms is terrible. The gray dogs bound on " the heath, and their howling is frequent. Fingal ſaw the de- " parture of the hero: the ſoul of the King was ſad. He dreads " the gloomy Cairbar: but who of the race of Trenmor fears the " foe (*c*)?"

Cruelty is every where condemned as an infamous vice. Speaking of the bards, " Cairbar feared to ſtretch his ſword to the " bards, tho' his ſoul was dark; but he cloſed us in the midſt of " darkneſs. Three days we pined alone: on the fourth the noble " Cathmor came. He heard our voice from the cave, and turned " the eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha, he ſaid, how " long wilt thou pain my ſoul? Thy heart is like the rock of the " deſert, and thy thoughts are dark. But thou art the brother

(*a*) Fingal, book 1.

(*b*) Temora.

(*c*) Temora.

" of

" of Cathmor, and he will fight thy battles. Cathmor's ſoul is " not like thine, thou feeble hand of war. The light of my bo- " ſom is ſtained with thy deeds. The bards will not ſing of my " renown: they may ſay, Cathmor was brave, but he fought for " gloomy Cairbair: they will paſs over my tomb in ſilence, and " my fame ſhall not be heard. Cairbar, looſe the bards; they are " the ſons of other times: their voice ſhall be heard in other ages " when the Kings of Temora have failed (*a*)." " Ullin rais'd his " white ſails: the wind of the ſouth came forth. He bounded on " the waves toward Selma's walls. The feaſt is ſpread on Lena: " an hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but no ſong is " raiſed over the chief, for his ſoul had been dark and bloody. We " remembered the fall of Cormac; and what could we ſay in Cair- " bar's praiſe (*b*)."

Genuine manners never were repreſented more to the life by a Tacitus nor a Shakeſpear. Such painting is above the reach of pure invention, and muſt be the work of knowledge and feeling.

One may diſcover the manners of a nation from the figure their women make. Among ſavages, women are treated like ſlaves; and they acquire not the dignity that belongs to the ſex, till manners be conſiderably refined. According to the manners above deſcribed, women ought to have made a conſiderable figure among the ancient Caledonians. Let us examine Oſſian upon that ſubject, in order to judge whether he carries on the ſame tone of manners to every particular. That women were highly regarded, appears from the following paſſages. " Daughter of the hand of " ſnow! I was not ſo mournful and blind, I was not ſo dark and " forlorn, when Everallin loved me, Everallin with the dark- " brown hair, the white-boſomed love of Cormac. A thouſand

(*a*) Temora.

(*b*) Temora.

" heroes

" heroes ſought the maid, ſhe denied her love to a thouſand; the " ſons of the ſword were deſpiſed; for graceful in her eyes was " Oſſian. I went in ſuit of the maid to Lego's ſable ſurge; twelve " of my people were there, ſons of the ſtreamy Morven. We " came to Branno friend of ſtrangers, Branno of the ſounding " mail.—From whence, he ſaid, are the arms of ſteel? Not ea- " ſy to win is the maid that has denied the blue-eyed ſons of Erin. " But bleſt be thou, O ſon of Fingal, happy is the maid that " waits thee. Tho' twelve daughters of beauty were mine, thine " were the choice, thou ſon of fame! Then he opened the hall " of the maid, the dark-hair'd Everallin. Joy kindled in our " breaſts of ſteel, and bleſt the maid of Branno (*a*)." " Now " Connal, on Cromla's windy ſide, ſpoke to the chief of the noble " car. Why that gloom, ſon of Semo? Our friends are the " mighty in battle. And renowned art thou, O warrior! many " were the deaths of thy ſteel. Often has Bragela met thee with " blue-rolling eyes of joy; often has ſhe met her hero returning " in the midſt of the valiant, when his ſword was red with ſlaugh- " ter, and his foes ſilent in the field of the tomb. Pleaſant to her " ears were thy bards, when thine actions roſe in the ſong (*b*)." " But, King of Morven, if I ſhall fall, as one time the warrior " muſt fall, raiſe my tomb in the midſt, and let it be the great- " eſt on Lena. And ſend over the dark-blue wave the ſword of " Orla, to the ſpouſe of his love; that ſhe may ſhow it to her ſon, " with tears, to kindle his ſoul to war (*c*)." " I lifted my eyes " to Cromla, and I ſaw the ſon of generous Semo.—Sad and ſlow " he retired from his hill toward the lonely cave of Tura. He

(*a*) Fingal, book 4.

(*b*) Fingal, book 5.

(*c*) Fingal, book 5.

" ſaw Fingal victorious, and mixed his joy with grief. The ſun " is bright on his armour, and Connal ſlowly followed. They " ſunk behind the hill, like two pillars of the fire of night, when " winds purſue them over the mountain, and the flaming heath " reſounds. Beſide a ſtream of roaring foam, his cave is in a " rock. One tree bends above it; and the ruſhing winds echo a- " gainſt its ſides. There reſts the chief of Dunſcaich, the ſon of " generous Semo. His thoughts are on the battles he loſt; and " the tear is on his cheek. He mourned the departure of his " fame, that fled like the miſt of Cona. O Bragela, thou art too " far remote to cheer the ſoul of the hero. But let him ſee thy " bright form in his ſoul; that his thoughts may return to the " lonely ſun-beam of Dunſcaich (*a*)." " Oſſian King of ſwords, " replied the bard, thou beſt raiſeſt the ſong. Long haſt thou " been known to Carril, thou ruler of battles. Often have I " touched the harp to lovely Everallin. Thou, too, haſt often " accompanied my voice in Branno's hall of ſhells. And often " amidſt our voices was heard the mildeſt Everallin. One day " ſhe ſung of Cormac's fall, the youth that died for her love. I " ſaw the tears on her cheek, and on thine, thou chief of men. " Her ſoul was touched for the unhappy, tho' ſhe loved him not. " How fair among a thouſand maids, was the daughter of the " generous Branno (*b*)." " It was in the days of peace, replied " the great Cleſſammor, I came in my bounding ſhip to Balclu- " tha's walls of towers. The winds had roared behind my ſails, " and Clutha's ſtreams received my dark-boſomed veſſel. Three " days I remained in Reuthamir's halls, and ſaw that beam of " light, his daughter. The joy of the ſhell went round, and the " aged hero gave the fair. Her breaſts were like foam on the

(*a*) Fingal, book 5.

(*b*) Fingal, book 5.

" wave,

" wave, and her eyes like ſtars of light: her hair was dark as the " raven's wing: her ſoul was generous and mild. My love for " Moina was great: and my heart poured forth in joy (*a*)." " The " fame of Oſſian ſhall riſe: his deeds ſhall be like his father's. " Let us ruſh in our arms, ſon of Morni, let us ruſh to battle. " Gaul, if thou ſhalt return, go to Selma's lofty hall. Tell Ever- " allin that I fell with fame: carry the ſword to Branno's daugh- " ter: let her give it to Oſcar when the years of his youth ſhall " ariſe (*b*)."

Next to war, love makes the principal figure: and well it may; for in Oſſian's poems it breathes every thing ſweet, tender, and elevated. " On Lubar's graſſy banks they fought; and Grudar " fell. Fierce Cairbar came to the vale of the echoing Tura, " where Braſſolis, faireſt of his ſiſters, all alone raiſed the ſong " of grief. She ſung the actions of Grudar, the youth of her ſe- " cret ſoul: ſhe mourned him in the field of blood; but ſtill ſhe " hoped his return. Her white boſom is ſeen from her robe, as " the moon from the clouds of night: her voice was ſofter than " the harp, to raiſe the ſong of grief: her ſoul was fixed on Grudar, " the ſecret look of her eye was his; — when wilt thou come in " thine arms, thou mighty in the war? Take, Braſſolis, Cair- " bar ſaid, take this ſhield of blood: fix it on high within my " hall, the armour of my foe. Her ſoft heart beat againſt " her ſide: diſtracted, pale, ſhe flew, and found her youth in his " blood. — She died on Cromla's heath. Here reſts their duſt, " Cuchullin; and theſe two lonely yews, ſprung from their " tombs, wiſh to meet on high. Fair was Braſſolis on the plain, " and Grudar on the hill. The bard ſhall preſerve their names,

(*a*) Carthon.

(*b*) Lathmon.

" and repeat them to future times (*a*)." " Pleaſant is thy voice, " O Carril, ſaid the blue-eyed chief of Erin; and lovely are the " words of other times: they are like the calm ſhower of ſpring, " when the ſun looks on the field, and the light cloud flies over " the hill. O ſtrike the harp in praiſe of my love, the lonely ſun- " beam of Dunſcaich: ſtrike the harp in praiſe of Bragela, whom " I left in the iſle of miſt, the ſpouſe of Semo's ſon.—Doſt thou " raiſe thy fair face from the rock to find the ſails of Cuchullin? " the ſea is rolling far diſtant, and its white foam will deceive " thee for my ſails. Retire, my love, for it is night, and the " dark winds ſigh in thy hair: retire to the hall of my feaſts, and " think of times that are paſt; for I will not return till the ſtorm " of war ceaſe.—O Connal, ſpeak of war and arms, and ſend " her from my mind; for lovely with her raven-hair is the white- " boſomed daughter of Sorglan (*b*)." Malvina ſpeaks. " But " thou dwelleſt in the ſoul of Malvina, ſon of mighty Oſſian. " My ſighs ariſe with the beam of the eaſt, my tears deſcend with " the drops of night. I was a lovely tree in thy preſence, Oſcar, " with all my branches round me; but thy death came like a " blaſt from the deſert, and laid my green head low: the ſpring " returned with its ſhowers, but of me not a leaf ſprung. The " virgins ſaw me ſilent in the hall, and they touched the harp of " joy. The tear was on the cheek of Malvina, and the virgins " beheld my grief. Why art thou ſad, they ſaid, thou firſt of " the maids of Lutha? Was he lovely as the beam of the morn- " ing, and ſtately in thy ſight (*c*)?" " Fingal came in his mild- " neſs, rejoicing in ſecret over the actions of his ſon. Morni's " face brightened with gladneſs, and his aged eyes looked faint-

(*a*) Fingal, book. 1.

(*b*) Fingal, book. 1.

(*c*) Croma.

" ly

" ly through tears of joy. We came to the halls of Selma, and " ſat round the feaſt of ſhells. The maids of the ſong came into " our preſence, and the mildly-bluſhing Everallin. Her dark " hair ſpreads on her neck of ſnow, her eye rolls in ſecret on Oſ- " ſian. She touches the harp of muſic, and we bleſs the daugh- " ter of Branno (*a*)."

Had the Caledonians made ſlaves of their women, and thought as meanly of them as ſavages commonly do, it could never have entered the imagination of Oſſian, to aſcribe to them thoſe numberleſs graces that exalt the female ſex, and render many of them objects of pure and elevated affection. Without the aid of inſpiration, ſuch refined manners could never have been conceived by a ſavage. I ſay more: Suppoſing a ſavage to have been divinely inſpired, manners ſo inconſiſtent with their own, would not have been reliſhed, nor even comprehended, by his countrymen. And yet that they were highly reliſhed is certain, having been univerſally diffuſed among all ranks, and preſerved for many ages by memory alone, without writing. Here the argument mentioned above ſtrikes with double force, to evince, that the manners of the Caledonians muſt have been really ſuch as Oſſian deſcribes.

Catharina Alexowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, promoted aſſemblies of men and women, as a means to poliſh the manners of her ſubjects. And in order to preſerve decency in ſuch aſſemblies, ſhe publiſhed a body of regulations, of which the following are a ſpecimen. " Ladies who play at forfeitures, queſtions and com- " mands, &c. ſhall not be noiſy nor riotous. No gentleman muſt " attempt to force a kiſs, nor ſtrike a woman in the aſſembly, " under pain of excluſion. Ladies are not to get drunk upon any " pretext whatever; nor gentlemen before nine." Compare the

(*a*) Lathmon.

manners

manners that required ſuch regulations with thoſe deſcribed above. Can we ſuppoſe, that the ladies and gentlemen of Oſſian's poems ever amuſed themſelves, after the age of twelve, with hide and ſeek, queſtions and commands, or ſuch childiſh play? Can it enter into our thoughts, that Bragéla or Malvina were ſo often drunk, as to require the reprimand of a public regulation? or that any hero of Oſſian ever ſtruck a woman of faſhion in ire?

The immortality of the ſoul was a capital article in the Celtic creed, inculcated by the Druids (*a*). And in Valerius Maximus we find the following paſſage. "Gallos, memoriæ proditum eſt, "pecunias mutuas, quæ ſibi apud inferos redderentur, dare: "quia perſuaſum habuerint, animas hominum immortales eſſe. "Dicerem ſtultos, niſi idem braccati ſenſiſſent quod palliatus Py- "thagoras ſenſit * (*b*)." All ſavages have an impreſſion of immortality; but few, even of the moſt enlightened before Chriſtianity prevailed, had the leaſt notion of any occupations in another life, but what they were accuſtomed to in this. Even Virgil, with all his poetical invention, finds no amuſements for his departed heroes, but what they were fond of when alive; the ſame love for war, the ſame taſte for hunting, and the ſame affection to their friends. As we have no reaſon to expect more invention in Oſſian, the obſervation may ſerve as a key to the ghoſts introduced by him, and to his whole machinery, as termed by critics. His deſcription of theſe ghoſts is copied plainly from the creed of his country.

* "It is reported, that the Gauls frequently lent money to be paid back in the "infernal regions, from a firm perſuaſion that the ſouls of men were immortal. "I would have called them fools, if thoſe wearers of breeches had not thought the "ſame as Pythagoras who wore a cloak."

(*a*) Pomponius Mela. Ammianus Marcellinus.

(*b*) Lib. 2.

In

In a hiſtorical account of the progreſs of manners, it would argue groſs inſenſibility to overlook thoſe above mentioned. The ſubject, it is true, has ſwelled upon my hands beyond expectation; but it is not a little intereſting. If theſe manners be genuine, they are a ſingular phenomenon in the Hiſtory of Man: if they be the invention of an illiterate bard, among ſavages utterly ignorant of ſuch manners, the phenomenon is no leſs ſingular. Let either ſide be taken, and a ſort of miracle muſt be admitted. In the inſtances above given, ſuch a beautiful mixture there is of ſimplicity and dignity, and ſo much life given to the manners deſcribed, that real manners were never repreſented with a more ſtriking appearance of truth. If theſe manners be fictitious, I ſay again, that the author muſt have been inſpired: they plainly exceed the invention of a ſavage; nay, they exceed the invention of any known writer. Every man will judge for himſelf: it is perhaps fondneſs for ſuch refined manners, that makes me incline to reality againſt fiction.

I am aware at the ſame time, that manners ſo pure and elevated, in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are difficult to be accounted for. The Caledonians were not an original tribe, to found a ſuppoſition that they might have manners peculiar to themſelves: they were a branch of the Celtæ, and had a language common to them with the inhabitants of Gaul, and of England. The manners probably of all were the ſame, or nearly ſo; and if we expect any light for explaining Caledonian manners, it muſt be from that quarter: we have indeed no other reſource. Diodorus Siculus (*a*) reports of the Celtæ, that, tho' warlike, they were upright in their dealings, and far removed from deceit and duplicity. Cæſar (*b*), "Galli homines aperti minimeque inſidioſi, qui

(*a*) Lib. 5.

(*b*) De bello Africo.

"per

" per virtutem, non per dolum, dimicare conſueverunt *." And tho' cruel to their enemies, yet Pomponius Mela (*a*) obſerves, that they were kind and compaſſionate to the ſupplicant and unfortunate. Strabo (*b*) deſcribes the Gauls, as ſtudious of war, and of great alacrity in fighting; otherwiſe an innocent people, altogether void of malignity. He ſays, that they had three orders of men, bards, prieſts, and druids; that the province of the bards was to ſtudy poetry, and to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their deceaſed heroes; that the prieſts preſided over divine worſhip; and that the druids, beſide ſtudying moral and natural philoſophy, determined all controverſies, and had ſome direction even in war. Cæſar, leſs attentive to civil matters, comprehends theſe three orders under the name of *druids*; and obſerves, that the druids teach their diſciples a vaſt number of verſes, which they muſt get by heart. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Gauls had poets termed *bards*, who ſung airs accompanied with the harp, in praiſe of ſome, and diſpraiſe of others. Lucan, ſpeaking of the three orders, ſays,

" Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
" Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum,
" Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina bardi †."

* " The Gauls are of an open temper, not at all inſidious; and in fight they " rely on valour, not on ſtratagem."

† " You too, ye bards! whom ſacred raptures fire,
" To chant your heroes to your country's lyre;
" Who conſecrate in your immortal ſtrain,
" Brave patriot ſouls, in righteous battle ſlain.
" Securely now the tuneful taſk renew,
" And nobleſt themes in deathleſs ſongs purſue."

ROWE.

(*a*) Lib. 3.

(*b*) Lib. 4.

With

With reſpect to the Celtic women in particular, it is agreed by all writers, that they were extremely beautiful (*a*). They were no leſs remarkable for ſpirit than for beauty. If we can rely on Diodorus Siculus, the women in Gaul equalled the men in courage. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, ſays, that the Britiſh women frequently joined with the men, when attacked by an enemy. And ſo much were they regarded, as to be thought capable of the higheſt command. "Neque enim ſexum in imperiis diſcernunt*," ſays the ſame author (*b*). And accordingly, during the war carried on by Caractacus, a gallant Britiſh King, againſt the Romans, Cartiſmandua was Queen of the Brigantes. Boadicea is recorded in Roman annals as a queen of a warlike ſpirit. She led on a great army againſt the Romans; and in exhorting her people to behave with courage, ſhe obſerved, that it was not unuſual to ſee a Britiſh army led on to battle by a woman; to which Tacitus adds his teſtimony: "Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu "bellare† (*c*)." No wonder that Celtic women, ſo amply provided with ſpirit, as well as beauty, made a capital figure in every public entertainment (*d*).

The Gallic Celtæ undoubtedly carried with them their manners and cuſtoms to Britain, and ſpread them gradually from ſouth to north. And as the Caledonians, inhabiting a mountainous country in the northern parts of the iſland, had little commerce with other nations, they preſerved long in purity many Celtic cuſtoms,

* "They made no diſtinction of ſex in conferring authority."

† "The Britons even follow'd women as leaders in the field."

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5. Athenæus, lib. 13.

(*b*) Vita Agricolæ, cap. 16.

(*c*) Annalium lib. 14.

(*d*) Athenæus, lib. 10.

particularly that of retaining bards. All the chieftains had bards in their pay, whoſe province it was to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their anceſtors, and to accompany thoſe ſongs with the harp. This entertainment enflamed their love for war, and at the ſame time ſoftened their manners, which, as Strabo reports, were naturally innocent and void of malignity. It had beſide a wonderful influence in forming virtuous manners: the bards, in praiſing deceaſed heroes, would naturally ſelect virtuous actions, which make the beſt figure in heroic poetry, and tend the moſt to illuſtrate the hero of their ſong: vice may be flattered; but praiſe is never willingly nor ſucceſsfully beſtow'd upon any atchievement but what is virtuous and heroic. It is accordingly obſerved by Ammianus Marcellinus (*a*), that the bards inculcated in their ſongs virtue and actions worthy of praiſe. The bards, who were in high eſtimation, became great proficients in poetry; of which we have a conſpicuous inſtance in the works of Oſſian. Their capital compoſitions were diligently ſtudied by thoſe of their own order, and much admired by all. The ſongs of the bards, accompanied with the harp, made a deep impreſſion on the young warrior, elevated ſome into heroes, and promoted virtue in every hearer *. Another circumſtance concurred to form Caledonian manners, common to them with every nation in the firſt ſtage of ſociety; which is, that avarice was unknown among them. People in that ſtage, ignorant of habitual wants, and having a ready ſupply of all that nature requires, have little notion of property, and not the ſlight-

* Polydore Virgil ſays, *Hiberni ſunt muſicæ peritiſſimi.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* "The "Iriſh are moſt ſkilful in muſic." —— Ireland was peopled from Britain; and the muſic of that country muſt have been derived from Britiſh bards. The Welſh bards were the great champions of independence; and in particular promoted an obſtinate reſiſtance to Edward I. when he carried his arms into Wales. And hence the tradition, that the Welſh bards were all ſlaughtered by that King.

(*a*) Lib. 15.

eſt

eſt notion of accumulating the goods of fortune; and for that reaſon are always found honeſt and diſintereſted. With reſpect to the female ſex, who make an illuſtrious figure in Oſſian's poems, if they were ſo eminent both for courage and beauty as they are repreſented by the beſt authors, it is no wonder that they are painted by Oſſian as objects of love the moſt pure and refined. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the ſoft and delicate notes of the harp have a tendency to purify manners, and to refine love.

Whether the cauſes here aſſigned of Celtic manners be fully adequate, may well admit of a doubt; but if authentic hiſtory be relied on, we can entertain no doubt, that the manners of the Gallic and Britiſh Celtæ, including the Caledonians, were ſuch as are above deſcribed. And as the manners aſcribed by Oſſian to his countrymen the Caledonians, are in every particular conformable to thoſe now mentioned, it clearly follows, that Oſſian was no inventor, but drew his pictures of manners from real life. This is made highly probable from intrinſic evidence, the ſame that is ſo copiouſly urged above: and now by authentic hiſtory that probability is ſo much heightened as ſcarce to leave room for a doubt.

Our preſent highlanders are but a ſmall part of the inhabitants of Britain; and they have been ſinking in their importance, from the time that arts and ſciences made a figure, and peaceable manners prevailed. And yet in that people are diſcernible many remaining features of their forefathers the Caledonians. They have to this day a diſpoſition to war, and when diſciplined make excellent ſoldiers, ſober, active, and obedient. They are eminently hoſpitable; and the character given by Strabo of the Gallic Celtæ, that they were innocent, and devoid of malignity, is to them perfectly applicable. That they have not the magnanimity and heroiſm of the Caledonians, is eaſily accounted for. The Caledonians were a free and independent people, unaw'd by any ſuperior power, and living under the mild government of their own

chieftains: compared with their forefathers, the preſent highlanders make a very inconſiderable figure: their country is barren, and at any rate is but a ſmall part of a potent kingdom; and their language deprives them of intercourſe with their poliſhed neighbours.

There certainly never happened in literature, a diſcovery more extraordinary than the works of Oſſian. To lay the ſcene of action among hunters in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, and to beſtow upon ſuch a people a ſyſtem of manners that would do honour to the moſt poliſhed ſtate, ſeemed at firſt an ill-contrived forgery. But if a forgery, why ſo bold and improbable? why not invent manners more congruous to the ſavage ſtate? And as at any rate the work has great merit, why did the author conceal himſelf? Theſe conſiderations rouſed my attention, and produced the foregoing diſquiſition; which I finiſhed, without imagining that any more light could be obtained. But after a long interval, a thought ſtruck me, that as the Caledonians formerly were much connected with the Scandinavians, the manners of the latter might probably give light in the preſent enquiry. I chearfully ſpread my ſails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandiſe. Many volumes did I turn over of Scandinavian hiſtory; eſpecially where the manners of the inhabitants in the firſt ſtage of ſociety are delineated; and now I proceed to preſent my reader with the fruits of my labour.

The Danes, ſays Adam of Bremen, are remarkable for elevation of mind: the puniſhment of death is leſs dreaded by them than that of whipping. "The philoſophy of the Cimbri," ſays Valerius Maximus, "is gay and reſolute: they leap for joy in a "battle, hoping for a glorious end: in ſickneſs they lament, for "fear of the contrary." What fortified their courage was a perſuaſion, that thoſe who die in battle fighting bravely, are inſtantly tranſlated to the hall of Odin, to drink beer out of the ſkull of an

an enemy. "Happy in their miſtake," ſays Lucan, "are the "people who live near the pole: perſuaded that death is only a "paſſage to long life, they are undiſturbed by the moſt grievous "of all fears, that of dying: they eagerly run to arms, and e- "ſteem it cowardice to ſpare a life they ſhall ſoon recover in ano- "ther world." Such was their magnanimity, that they ſcorned to ſnatch a victory by ſurpriſe. Even in their piratical expeditions, inſtances are recorded of ſetting aſide all the ſhips that exceeded thoſe of the enemy, leſt the victory ſhould be attributed to ſuperiority of numbers. It was held unmanly to decline a combat, however unequal; for courage, it was thought, rendered all men equal. The ſhedding tears was unmanly, even for the death of friends.

The Scandinavians were ſenſible in a high degree to praiſe and reproach; for love of fame was their darling paſſion. Olave, King of Norway, placing three of his ſcalds or bards around him in a battle, "You ſhall not relate," ſaid he, "what you have "only heard, but what you are eye-witneſſes of." Upon every occaſion we find them inſiſting upon glory, honour, and contempt of death, as leading principles. The bare ſuſpicion of cowardice, was attended with univerſal contempt: a man who loſt his buckler, or received a wound behind, durſt never again appear in public. Frotho King of Denmark, taken captive in a battle, obſtinately refuſed either liberty or life. "To what end," ſays he, "ſhould I ſurvive the diſgrace of being made a captive? "Should you even reſtore to me my ſiſter, my treaſure, and my "kingdom, would theſe benefits reſtore me to my honour? Fu- "ture ages will always have it to ſay, that Frotho was taken by "his enemy (*a*)."

Much efficacy is above aſcribed to the ſongs of Caledonian

(*a*) Saxo Grammaticus.

bards;

bards; and with ſatisfaction I find my obſervations juſtified in every Scandinavian hiſtory. The Kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are repreſented in ancient chronicles as conſtantly attended with ſcalds or bards; who were treated with great reſpect, eſpecially by princes diſtinguiſhed in war. Harold Harfager at his feaſts placed them above all his other officers; and employed them in negotiations of the greateſt importance. The poetic art, held in great eſtimation, was cultivated by men of the firſt rank. Rogvald, Earl of Orkney, paſſed for an able poet. King Regnar was diſtinguiſhed in poetry, no leſs than in war. It was the proper province of bards in Scandinavia, as in other countries, to celebrate in odes the atchievements of deceaſed heroes. They were frequently employ'd in animating the troops before a battle. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in his famous engagement againſt the warriors of Iomſburg, had five celebrated poets, each of whom ſung an ode to the ſoldiers ready to engage. Saxo Grammaticus, deſcribing a battle between Waldemar and Sueno, mentions a ſcald belonging to the former, who, advancing to the front of the army, reproached the latter in a pathetic ode as the murderer of his own father.

The odes of the Scandinavian bards have a peculiar energy; which is not difficult to be accounted for. The propenſity of the Scandinavians to war, their love of glory, their undaunted courage, and their warlike exploits, naturally produced elevated ſentiments, and an elevated tone of language; both of which were diſplay'd in celebrating heroic deeds. Take the following inſtances. The firſt is from the Edda, which contains the birth and genealogy of their gods. "The giant Rymer arrives from the eaſt, "carried in a chariot: the great ſerpent, rolling himſelf furiouſ-"ly in the waters, lifteth up the ſea. The eagle ſcreams, and "with his horrid beak tears the dead. The veſſel of the gods is "ſet afloat. The black prince of fire iſſues from the ſouth, ſur-

"rounded

" rounded with flames: the ſwords of the gods beam like the ſun:
" ſhaken are the rocks, and fall to pieces. The female giants
" wander about weeping: men in crowds tread the paths of death.
" Heaven is ſplit aſunder, the ſun darkened, and the earth ſunk
" in the ocean. The ſhining ſtars vaniſh: the fire rages: the
" world draws to an end; and the flame aſcending licks the vault
" of heaven. From the boſom of the waves an earth emerges,
" clothed with lovely green: the floods retire: the fields produce
" without culture: misfortunes are baniſhed from the world.
" Balder and his brother, gods of war, return to inhabit the
" ruin'd palaçe of Odin. A palace more reſplendent than the ſun,
" riſes now to view; adorned with a roof of gold: there good
" men ſhall inhabit; and live in joy and pleaſure through all
" ages." In a collection of ancient hiſtorical monuments of the north, publiſhed by Biorner, a learned Swede, there is the following paſſage. " Grunder, perceiving Grymer ruſhing furiouſ-
" ly through oppoſing battalions, cries aloud, *Thou alone remaineſt*
" *to engage with me in ſingle combat. It is now thy turn to feel the*
" *keenneſs of my ſword.* Their ſabres, like dark and threatening
" clouds, hang dreadful in the air. Grymer's weapon darts down
" like a thunderbolt: their ſwords furiouſly ſtrike: they are
" bathed in gore. Grymer cleaves the caſque of his enemy, hews
" his armour in pieces, and pours the light into his boſom.
" Grunder ſinks to the ground; and Grymer gives a dreadful
" ſhout of triumph." This picture is done with a maſterly hand. The capital circumſtances are judiciouſly ſelected; and the narration is compact and rapid. Indulge me with a moment's pauſe to compare this picture with one or two in Oſſian's manner. " As
" autumn's dark ſtorms pour from two echoing hills; ſo to each
" other approach the heroes. As from high rocks two dark
" ſtreams meet, and mix and roar on the plain; ſo meet Lochlin
" and Innis-fail, loud, rough, and dark in battle. Chief mixes

" his

" his ſtrokes with chief, and man with man; ſteel ſounds on " ſteel, helmets are cleft on high. Blood burſts, and ſmoaks a- " round. Strings murmur on the poliſhed yew. Darts ruſh a- " long the ſky. Spears fall like ſparks of flame that gild the " ſtormy face of night. As the noiſe of the troubled ocean when " roll the waves on high, as the laſt peal of thundering heaven, " ſuch is the noiſe of battle. Tho' Cormac's hundred bards were " there, feeble were the voice of an hundred bards to ſend the " deaths to future times; for many were the heroes who fell, and " wide poured the blood of the valiant." Again, " As roll a " thouſand waves to the rocks, ſo came on Swaran's hoſt: as " meets a rock a thouſand waves, ſo Innis-fail met Swaran. The " voice of death is heard all around, and mixes with the ſound " of ſhields. Each hero is a pillar of darkneſs, and the ſword a " beam of fire in his hand. From wing to wing echoes the field, " like a hundred hammers that riſe by turns on the red ſun of the " furnace. Who are thoſe on Lena's heath, ſo gloomy and dark? " they are like two clouds, and their ſwords lighten above. Who " is it but Oſſian's ſon, and the car-borne chief of Erin?" Theſe two deſcriptions make a deeper impreſſion, and ſwell the heart more than the former: they are more poetical by ſhort ſimiles finely interwoven; and the images are far more lofty. And yet Oſſian's chief talent is ſentiment, in which Scandinavian bards are far inferior: in the generoſity, tenderneſs, and humanity of his ſentiments, he has not a rival.

The ancient Scandinavians were undoubtedly a barbarous people compared with the ſouthern nations of Europe; but that they were far from being groſs ſavages, may be gathered from a poem ſtill extant, named *Havamaal*; *or*, *The ſublime diſcourſe of Odin*. Tho' that poem is of great antiquity, it is replete with good leſſons and judicious reflections; of which the following are a ſpecimen.

Happy he who gains the applauſe and good will of men.

Love

Love your friends, and love alſo their friends.

Be not the firſt to break with your friend: ſorrow gnaws the heart of him who has not a ſingle friend to adviſe with.

Where is the virtuous man that hath not a failing? Where is the wicked man that hath not ſome good quality?

Riches take wing: relations die: you yourſelf ſhall die. One thing only is out of the reach of fate; which is, the judgement that paſſes on the dead.

There is no malady more ſevere than the being diſcontented with one's lot.

Let not a man be overwiſe nor overcurious: if he would ſleep in quiet, let him not ſeek to know his deſtiny.

While we live, let us live well: a man lights his fire, but before it be burnt out death may enter.

A coward dreams that he may live for ever: if he ſhould eſcape every other weapon, he cannot eſcape that of old age.

The flocks know when to retire from paſture: the glutton knows not when to retire from the feaſt.

The lewd and diſſolute make a mock of every thing, not conſidering how much they deſerve to be mocked.

The beſt proviſion for a journey is ſtrength of underſtanding: more uſeful than treaſure, it welcomes one to the table of the ſtranger.

Hitherto the manners of the Scandinavians reſemble in many capital circumſtances thoſe delineated in the works of Oſſian. I lay not however great ſtreſs upon that reſemblance, becauſe ſuch manners are found among ſeveral other warlike nations in the firſt ſtage of ſociety. The circumſtance that has occaſioned the greateſt doubt about Oſſian's ſyſtem of manners, is the figure his women make. Among other ſavage nations, they are held to be beings of an inferior rank; and as ſuch are treated with very little reſpect: in Oſſian they make an illuſtrious figure, and are highly

regarded by the men. I have not words to expreſs my ſatisfaction, when I diſcovered, that anciently among the barbarous Scandinavians, the female ſex made a figure no leſs illuſtrious. A reſemblance ſo complete with reſpect to a matter extremely ſingular among barbarians, cannot fail to convert the moſt obſtinate infidel, leaving no doubt of Oſſian's veracity.——But I ought not to anticipate. One cannot paſs a verdict till the evidence be ſummed up; and to that taſk I now proceed, with ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs.

It is a fact aſcertained by many writers, That women in the north of Europe were eminent for reſolution and courage. Cæſar, in the firſt book of his Commentaries, deſcribing a battle he fought with the Helvetii, ſays, that the women with a warlike ſpirit exhorted their huſbands to perſiſt, and placed the waggons in a line to prevent their flight. Florus and Tacitus mention, that ſeveral battles of thoſe barbarous nations were renewed by their women, preſenting their naked boſoms, and declaring their abhorrence of captivity. Flavius Vopiſcus, writing of Proculus Cæſar, ſays, that a hundred Sarmatian virgins were taken in battle. The Longobard women, when many of their huſbands were cut off in a battle, took up arms, and obtained the victory (*a*). The females of the Galactophagi, a Scythian tribe, were as warlike as the males, and went often with them to war (*b*). In former times, many women in Denmark applied themſelves to arms (*c*). Jornandes deſcribes the women of the Goths as full of courage, and trained to arms like the men. Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, ſays the ſame; and mentions in particular an expedition of the Goths to invade a neighbouring country, in which more wo-

(*a*) Paulus Diaconus.

(*b*) Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

(*c*) Saxo Grammaticus.

men

men went along with the men than were left at home (*a*). Several Scandinavian women exerciſed piracy (*b*). The Cimbri were always attended with their wives even in their diſtant expeditions, and were more afraid of their reproaches than of the blows of the enemy. The Goths, compelled by famine to ſurrender to Beliſarius the city of Ravenna, were bitterly reproached by their wives for cowardice (*c*). In a battle between Regner King of Denmark and Fro King of Sweden, many women took part with the former, Langertha in particular, who fought with her hair flowing about her ſhoulders. Regner, being victorious, demanded who that woman was who had behaved ſo gallantly; and finding her to be a virgin of noble birth, he took her to wife. He afterward divorced her, in order to make way for a daughter of the King of Sweden. Regner being unhappily engaged in a civil war with Harald, who aſpired to the throne of Denmark, Langertha, overlooking her wrongs, brought from Norway a body of men to aſſiſt her huſband; and behaved ſo gallantly, that, in the opinion of all, Regner was indebted to her for the victory.

To find women in no inconſiderable portion of the globe dropping their timid nature, and rivalling men in their capital property of courage, is a ſingular phenomenon. That this phenomenon muſt have had an adequate cauſe, is certain; but of that cauſe, it is better to acknowledge our utter ignorance, however mortifying, than to ſqueeze out conjectures that will not bear examination.

In rude nations, prophets and ſoothſayers are held to be a ſuperior claſs of men: what a figure then muſt the Vandal women

(*a*) Book 1.

(*b*) Olaus Magnus.

(*c*) Procopius, Hiſtoria Gothica, lib. 2.

have made, when in that nation, as Procopius ſays, all the prophets and ſoothſayers were of the female ſex? In Scandinavia, women are ſaid to have been ſkilful in magic arts, as well as men. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans had no other phyſicians but their women. They followed the armies, to ſtaunch the blood, and ſuck the wounds of their huſbands *. He mentions a fact that ſets the German women in a conſpicuous light, That female hoſtages bound the Germans more ſtrictly to their engagements than male hoſtages. He adds, " Ineſſe quin etiam ſanc-" tum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut conſilia earum aſper-" nantur, aut reſponſa negliguntur †." The hiſtories and romances of the north repreſent women, and even princeſſes, acting as phyſicians in war.

Polygamy ſprung up in countries where women are treated as inferior beings: it can never take place where the two ſexes are held to be of equal rank. For that reaſon, polygamy never was known among the northern nations of Europe. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote the hiſtory of Denmark in the twelfth century, gives not the ſlighteſt hint of polygamy, even among kings and princes. Crantz, in his hiſtory of the Saxons (*a*), affirms, that polygamy was never known among the northern nations of Eu-

* The expreſſion of Tacitus is beautiful: " Ad matres, ad conjuges, vulnera " ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exfugere plagas pavent: ciboſque et hortamina " pugnantibus geſtant." — [*In Engliſh thus:* " When wounded, they find phyſi-" cians in their mothers and wives, who are not afraid to count and ſuck their " wounds. They carry proviſions for their ſons and huſbands, and animate them " in battle by their exhortations."]

† " They believe that there is ſomething ſacred in their character, and that " they have a foreſight of futurity: for this reaſon their counſels are always re-" ſpected; nor are their opinions ever diſregarded."

(*a*) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

rope;

rope; which is confirmed by every other writer who gives the hiſtory of any of thoſe nations. Scheffer in particular, who writes the hiſtory of Lapland, obſerves, that neither polygamy nor divorce were ever heard of in that country, not even during Paganiſm.

We have the authority of Procopius (*a*), that the women in thoſe countries were remarkable for beauty, and that thoſe of the Goths and Vandals were the fineſt that ever had been ſeen in Italy; and we have the authority of Crantz, that chaſtity was in high eſtimation among the Danes, Swedes, and other Scandinavians. When theſe facts are added to thoſe above mentioned, it will not be thought ſtrange, that love between the ſexes, even among that rude people, was a pure and elevated paſſion. That it was in fact ſuch, is certain, if hiſtory can be credited, or the ſentiments of a people expreſſed in their poetical compoſitions. I begin with the latter, as evidence the moſt to be rely'd on. The ancient poems of Scandinavia contain the warmeſt expreſſions of love and regard for the female ſex. In an ode of King Regner Lodbrog, a very ancient poem, we find the following ſentiments. "We fought "with ſwords upon a promontory of England, when I ſaw ten "thouſand of my foes rolling in the duſt. A dew of blood di- "ſtilled from our ſwords: the arrows, that flew in ſearch of the "helmets, hiſſed through the air. The pleaſure of that day was "like the claſping a fair virgin in my arms." Again, "A young "man ſhould march early to the conflict of arms; in which con- "ſiſts the glory of the warrior. He who aſpires to the love of a "miſtreſs, ought to be dauntleſs in the claſh of ſwords." Theſe Hyperboreans, it would appear, had early learned to combine the ideas of love and of military proweſs; which is ſtill more conſpicuous in an ode of Harald the Valiant, of a later date. That

(*a*) Hiſtoria Gothica, lib. 3.

prince,

prince, who made a figure in the middle of the eleventh century, traverſed all the ſeas of the north, and made piratical incurſions even upon the coaſts of the Mediterranean. In this ode he complains, that the glory he had acquired made no impreſſion on Eliſſir, daughter to Jariſlas, King of Ruſſia. " I have made the " tour of Sicily. My brown veſſel, full of mariners, made a ſwift " progreſs. My courſe I thought would never ſlacken — and " yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. The troops of Drontheim, " which I attacked in my youth, exceeded ours in number. Ter- " rible was the conflict: I left their young king dead on the field " — and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. Eight exerciſes I can " perform: I fight valiantly: firm is my ſeat on horſeback: in- " ured I am to ſwimming: ſwift is my motion on ſcates: I dart " the lance: I am ſkilful at the oar — and yet a Ruſſian maiden " ſcorns me. Can ſhe deny, this young and lovely maiden, that " near a city in the ſouth I joined battle, and left behind me laſt- " ing monuments of my exploits? — and yet a Ruſſian maiden " ſcorns me. My birth was in the high country of Norway, fa- " mous for archers: but ſhips were my delight; and, far from " the habitations of men, I have traverſed the ſeas from north to " ſouth — and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me." In the very ancient poem of Havamaal, mentioned above, there are many expreſſions of love to the fair ſex. " He who would gain the love " of a maiden, muſt addreſs her with ſmooth ſpeeches, and ſhowy " gifts. It requires good ſenſe to be a ſkilful lover." Again, " If I aſpire to the love of the chaſteſt virgin, I can bend her " mind, and make her yield to my deſires." The ancient Scandinavian chronicles preſent often to our view young warriors endeavouring to acquire the favour of their miſtreſſes, by boaſting of their accompliſhments, ſuch as their dexterity in ſwimming and ſcating, their talent in poetry, their ſkill in cheſs, and their knowing all the ſtars by name. Mallet, in the introduction to his

hiſtory

hiſtory of Denmark, mentions many ancient Scandinavian novels that turn upon love and heroiſm. Theſe may be juſtly held as authentic evidence of the manners of the people: it is common to invent facts; but it is not common to attempt the inventing manners.

It is an additional proof of the great regard paid to women in Scandinavia, that in Edda, the Scandinavian Bible, female deities make as great a figure as male deities.

Agreeable to the manners deſcribed, we find it univerſally admitted among the ancient Scandinavians, that beauty ought to be the reward of courage and military ſkill. A warrior was thought intitled to demand in marriage any young woman, even of the higheſt rank, if he overcame his rivals in ſingle combat: nor was it thought any hardſhip on the young lady to be yielded to the victor. The ladies were not always of that opinion; for the ſtouteſt fighter is not always the handſomeſt fellow, nor the moſt engaging. And in the hiſtories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many inſtances are related, of men generouſly interpoſing to reſcue young beauties from brutes, deſtitute of every accompliſhment but ſtrength and boldneſs. Such ſtories have a fabulous air; and many of them probably are mere fables. Some of them however have a ſtrong appearance of truth: men are introduced who make a figure in the real hiſtory of the country; and many circumſtances are related that make links in the chain of that hiſtory. Take the following ſpecimen. The ambaſſadors of Frotho, King of Denmark, commiſſioned to demand in marriage the daughter of a King of the Hunns, were feaſted for three days, as the cuſtom was in ancient times; and being admitted to the young Princeſs, ſhe rejected the offer; "Becauſe," ſays ſhe, "your "King has acquired no reputation in war, but paſſes his time ef- "feminately at home." In Biorner's collection of ancient hiſtorical monuments, mentioned above, there is the following hiſtory.

Charles

Charles King of Sweden kept on foot an army of choſen men. His Queen had born him a daughter named *Inguegerda*, whoſe lively and graceful accompliſhments were admired ſtill more than her birth and fortune. The breaſt of the King overflow'd with felicity. Grymer, a youth of noble birth, knew to dye his ſword in the blood of his enemies, to run over craggy mountains, to wreſtle, to play at cheſs, and to trace the motions of the ſtars. He ſtudied to ſhow his ſkill in the apartment of the damſels, before the lovely Inguegerda. At length he ventured to open his mind. "Wilt thou, O fair Princeſs! accept of me for a huſ-" band, if I obtain the King's conſent?" "Go," ſays ſhe, "and " ſupplicate my father." The courtly youth, reſpectfully addreſſing the King, ſaid, "O King! give me in marriage thy beau-" tiful daughter." He anſwered ſternly, "Thou haſt learned to " handle thy arms: thou haſt acquired ſome honourable diſtinc-" tions: but haſt thou ever gained a victory, or given a banquet " to ſavage beaſts that rejoice in blood?" "Where ſhall I go, O " King! that I may dye my ſword in crimſon, and render myſelf " worthy of being thy ſon-in-law?" "Hialmar, ſon of Harec," " ſaid the King, "who governs Biarmland, has become terrible by " a keen ſword: the firmeſt ſhields he hews in pieces, and loads " his followers with booty. Go, and prove thy valour, by attack-" ing that hero: cauſe him to bite the duſt, and Inguegerda " ſhall be thy reward." Grymer, returning to his fair miſtreſs, ſaluted her with ardent looks of love. "What anſwer haſt thou " received from the King?" "To obtain thee I muſt deprive the " fierce Hialmar of life." Inguegerda exclaimed with grief, " Alas! my father hath devoted thee to death." Grymer ſelected a troop of brave warriors, eager to follow him. They launch their veſſels into the wide ocean: they unfurl the ſails, which catch the ſpringing gale: the ſhrowds rattle: the waves foam, and daſh againſt the prows: they ſteer their numerous veſſels to the ſhore

of

of Gothland; bent to glut the hungry raven, and to gorge the wolf with prey. Thus landed Grymer on Gothland; and thus did a beauteous maiden occaſion the death of many heroes. Hialmar demanded who the ſtrangers were. Grymer told his name; adding, that he had ſpent the ſummer in queſt of him. "May "your arrival, reply'd Hialmar, be fortunate; and may health "and honour attend you. You ſhall partake of my gold, with "the unmixed juice of the grape. Thy offers, ſaid Grymer, I "dare not accept. Prepare for battle; and let us haſten to give "a banquet to beaſts of prey. Hialmar laid hold of his white "cuiraſs, his ſword, and his buckler. Grymer, with a violent "blow of his ſabre, transfixes Hialmar's ſhield, and cuts off "his left hand. Hialmar enraged, brandiſhes his ſword, and "ſtriking off Grymer's helmet and cuiraſs, pierces his breaſt and "ſides: an effuſion of blood following the wounds. Grymer rai-"ſing his ſabre with both hands, lays Hialmar proſtrate on the "ground; and he himſelf ſinks down upon the dead body of "his adverſary. He was put on ſhipboard, and ſeemed to be at "the laſt period of life when he landed. The diſtreſſed Princeſs "undertook his cure; and reſtored him to health. They were "married with great ſolemnity; and the beauteous bride of Gry-"mer filled the heart of her hero with unfading joy."

According to the rude manners of thoſe times, a lover did not always wait for the conſent of his miſtreſs. Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, obſerves, in his hiſtory of the Goths, that raviſhing of women was of old no leſs frequent among the Scandinavians than among the Greeks. He relates, that Gram, ſon to the King of Denmark, carried off the King of Sweden's daughter, whoſe beauty was celebrated in verſes exiſting even in his time. Another inſtance he gives, of Nicolaus King of Denmark (*a*),

(*a*) Book 18.

who courted Uluilda, a noble and beautiful Norvegian lady, and obtained her conſent. Nothing remained but the celebration of the nuptials, when ſhe was carried off by Suercher, King of Sweden. We have the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, that Skiold, one of the firſt Kings of Denmark, fought a duel for a beautiful young woman, and obtained her for a wife. That author relates many duels of the ſame kind. It was indeed common among the Scandinavians, before they became Chriſtians, to fight for a wife, and to carry off the deſired object by force of arms. No cauſe of war between neighbouring kings was more frequent. Fridlevus King of Denmark ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Haſmundus King of Norway, to demand in marriage his daughter. Haſmundus had a rooted averſion to the Danes, who had done much miſchief in his country. "Go," ſays he to the ambaſſadors, "and demand a "wife where you are leſs hated than in Norway." The young lady, who had no averſion to the match, intreated leave to ſpeak. "You ſeem," ſaid ſhe, "not to conſult the good of your king-"dom in rejecting ſo potent a ſon-in-law, who can carry by "force what he is now applying for by intreaties." The father however continuing obſtinate, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors. Fridlevus ſent other ambaſſadors, redoubling his intreaties for a favourable anſwer. Haſmundus ſaid, that one refuſal might be thought ſufficient; and in a fit of paſſion put the ambaſſadors to death. Fridlevus invaded Norway with a potent army; and, after a deſperate battle, carried off the lady in triumph.

The figure that women made in the north of Europe by their courage, their beauty, and their chaſtity, could not fail to produce mutual eſteem and love between the ſexes: nor could that love fail to be purified into the moſt tender affection, when their rough manners were ſmoothed in the progreſs of ſociety. If love between the ſexes prevail in Lapland as much as any where, which is vouched by Scheffer in his hiſtory of that country, it

muſt

muſt be for a reaſon very different from that now mentioned. The males in Lapland, who are great cowards, have no reaſon to deſpiſe the females for their timidity; and in every country where the women equal the men, mutual eſteem and affection naturally take place. Two Lapland odes communicated to us by the author mentioned, leave no doubt of this fact, being full of the tendereſt ſentiments that love can inſpire. The following is a literal tranſlation.

FIRST ODE.

I.

Kulnaſatz my rain-deer,
We have a long journey to go;
The moors are vaſt,
And we muſt haſte;
Our ſtrength, I fear,
Will fail if we are ſlow;
And ſo
Our ſongs will do.

II.

Kaigé, the watery moor,
Is pleaſant unto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my miſtreſs lead,
Whom I adore:
The Kilwa moor
I ne'er again will tread.

III.

Thoughts fill'd my mind
Whilſt I thro' Kaigé paſt
Swift as the wind,

And my deſire,
Wing'd with impatient fire,
My rain-deer, let us haſte.

IV.

So ſhall we quickly end our pleaſing pain:
Behold my miſtreſs there,
With decent motion walking o'er the plain.
Kulnaſatz my rain-deer,
Look yonder, where
She waſhes in the lake:
See while ſhe ſwims,
The waters from her purer limbs
New clearneſs take.

SECOND ODE.

I.

With brighteſt beams let the ſun ſhine
On Orra moor:
Could I be ſure
That from the top o' th' lofty pine
I Orra moor might ſee,
I to its higheſt bow would climb,
And with induſtrious labour try
Thence to deſcry
My miſtreſs, if that there ſhe be.

II.

Could I but know, amid what flowers,
Or in what ſhade ſhe ſtays,
The gaudy bowers,
With all their verdant pride,
Their bloſſoms and their ſprays,

Which

Which make my miſtreſs diſappear,
And her in envious darkneſs hide,
I from the roots and bed of earth would tear.

III.

Upon the raft of clouds I'd ride,
Which unto Orra fly:
O' th' ravens I would borrow wings,
And all the feather'd inmates of the ſky:
But wings, alas, are me deny'd,
The ſtork and ſwan their pinions will not lend,
There's none who unto Orra brings,
Or will by that kind conduct me befriend.

IV.

Enough, enough! thou haſt delay'd
So many ſummer's days,
The beſt of days that crown the year,
Which light upon the eye-lids dart,
And melting joy upon the heart:
But ſince that thou ſo long haſt ſtay'd,
They in unwelcome darkneſs diſappear.
Yet vainly doſt thou me forſake;
I will purſue and overtake.

V.

What ſtronger is than bolts of ſteel?
What can more ſurely bind?
Love is ſtronger far than it;
Upon the head in triumph ſhe doth ſit;
Fetters the mind,
And doth control
The thought and ſoul.

VI.

VI.

A youth's deſire is the deſire of wind;
All his eſſays
Are long delays:
No iſſue can they find.
Away fond counſellors, away,
No more advice obtrude:
I'll rather prove
The guidance of blind love;
To follow you is certainly to ſtray:
One ſingle counſel, tho' unwiſe, is good.

In the Scandinavian manners here deſcribed is diſcovered a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe deſcribed by Oſſian. And as ſuch were the manners of the Scandinavians in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, it no longer remains a wonder, that the manners of Caledonia ſhould be equally pure in the ſame early period. And now every argument above urged in favour of Oſſian as a genuine hiſtorian has its full weight, without the leaſt counterpoiſe. It is true, that Caledonian manners appear from Oſſian to have been ſtill more poliſhed and refined than thoſe of Scandinavia; but that difference may have proceeded from many cauſes, which time has buried in oblivion.

I make no apology for inſiſting ſo largely on Scandinavian manners; for they tend remarkably to ſupport the credit of Oſſian, and conſequently to aſcertain a fact extremely intereſting, that our forefathers were by no means ſuch barbarians as they are commonly held to be. All the inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic extraction; and we have reaſon to believe, that the manners of Caledonia were the manners of every part of the iſland, before the inhabitants of the plains were enſlaved by the Romans. The only circumſtance peculiar to the Caledonians, is their mountainous ſituation:

Tho' permanent manners enter not regularly into the preſent ſketch, I am however tempted to add a few words concerning the influence of ſoil upon the diſpoſition of man, in order to ſhow the wiſdom of Providence, which fits the ground we tread on, not only for ſupplying our wants, but for improving our manners. The ſtupidity of the inhabitants of New Holland, mentioned above, is occaſioned by the barrenneſs of their ſoil, yielding nothing that can be food for man or beaſt. Day and night they watch the ebb of the tide, in order to dig ſmall fiſh out of the ſand; and ſleep in the intervals, without an hour to ſpare for any other occupation. People in that condition muſt for ever remain ignorant and brutiſh. Were all the earth barren like New Holland, all men would be ignorant and brutiſh, like the inhabitants of New Holland. On the other hand, were every portion of this earth naturally ſo fertile as ſpontaneouſly to feed all its inhabitants, which is the golden age figured by poets, what would follow? Upon the former ſuppoſition, man would be a meagre, patient, and timid animal: upon the latter ſuppoſition, he would be pampered, lazy, and effeminate. In both caſes, he would be ſtupidly ignorant, and incapable of any manly exertion, whether of mind or body. But the ſoil of our earth is more wiſely accommodated to man, its chief inhabitant. Taking it in general, it is neither ſo fertile as to ſuperſede labour, nor ſo barren as to require our whole labour. The laborious occupation of hunting for food, produced originally ſome degree of induſtry: and tho' all the induſtry of man was at firſt neceſſary for procuring food, cloathing, and habitation; yet the ſoil, by ſkill in agriculture, came to produce plenty with leſs labour, which to ſome afforded ſpare time for thinking of conveniencies. A habit of induſtry thus acquired, excited many to beſtow their leiſure-hours upon the arts, proceeding from uſeful arts to fine arts, and from theſe to the ſciences. Wealth, accumulated by induſtry, has a wonderful influence

influence upon manners: feuds and war, the offspring of wealth, call forth into action friendſhip, courage, heroiſm, and every ſocial virtue, as well as many ſelfiſh vices. How like brutes do we paſs our time, without once reflecting on the conduct of Providence operating even under our feet!

Diverſity of manners, at the ſame time, enters into the plan of Providence, as well as diverſity of talents, of feelings, and of opinions. Our Maker hath given us a taſte for variety; and he hath provided objects in plenty for its gratification. Some ſoils, naturally fertile, require little labour: ſome ſoils, naturally barren, require the extremity of labour. But the advantages of ſuch a ſoil are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its barrenneſs: the inhabitants are ſober, induſtrious, vigorous; and conſequently courageous, ſo far as courage depends on bodily ſtrength *. The diſadvantages of a fertile ſoil, on the contrary, are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its advantages: the inhabitants are rendered indolent, weak, and cowardly. Hindoſtan may ſeem to be an exception; for tho' it be extremely fertile, the people however are induſtrious, and export manufactures in great abundance at a very low price. But Hindoſtan properly is not an exception. The Hindows, who are prohibited by their religion to kill any living creature, muſt abandon to animals for food a large proportion of land; which obliges them to cultivate what remains with double induſtry, in order to procure food for themſelves. The populouſneſs of their country contributes alſo to make them in-

* That a barren country is a great ſpur to induſtry, appears from Venice and Genoa in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, and Limoges in France. The ſterility of Holland required all the induſtry of its inhabitants for procuring the neceſſaries of life; and by that means chiefly they become remarkably induſtrious. Cambden aſcribes the ſucceſs of the town of Halifax in the cloth-manufacture, to its barren ſoil.

duſtrious. Arragon was once the moſt limited monarchy in Europe, England not excepted: the barrenneſs of the ſoil was the cauſe, which rendered the people hardy and courageous. In a preamble to one of their laws, the ſtates declare, that were they not more free than other nations, the barrenneſs of their country would tempt them to abandon it. Oppoſed to Arragon ſtands Egypt, the fertility of which renders the inhabitants ſoft and effeminate, and conſequently an eaſy prey to every invader *. The fruitfulneſs of the province of Quito in Peru, and the low price of every neceſſary, occaſioned by its diſtance from the ſea, have plunged the inhabitants into ſupine indolence, and exceſſive luxury. The people of the town of Quito in particular have abandoned themſelves to every ſort of debauchery. The time they have to ſpare from wine and women, is employed in exceſſive gaming. In other reſpects alſo the manners of a people are influenced by the country they inhabit. A great part of Calabria, formerly populous and fertile, is at preſent covered with trees and ſhrubs, like the wilds of America; and the ferocity of its inhabitants correſpond to the rudeneſs of the fields. The ſame is viſible in the inhabitants of Mount Etna in Sicily: the country and its inhabitants are equally rugged.

* Fear impreſſed by ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents, is the moſt potent cauſe of ſuperſtition. What then made the ancient Egyptians ſo ſuperſtitious? No other country is leſs liable to ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents: no thunder, ſcarce any rain, perfect regularity in the ſeaſons, and in the riſe and fall of the river. So little notion had the Egyptians of variable weather as to be ſurpriſed that the rivers of Greece did not overflow like the Nile. They could not comprehend how their fields were watered: rain, they ſaid, was very irregular; and what if Jupiter ſhould take a conceit to ſend them no rain? The fertility of the ſoil, and the inaction of the inhabitants during the inundation of the river, enervated both mind and body, and rendered them timid and puſillanimous. Superſtition was the offſpring of this character, as it is of ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents in other countries.

SKETCH

SKETCH VIII.

Progreſs and Effects of LUXURY.

THE wiſdom of Providence is in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in adjuſting the conſtitution of man to his external circumſtances. Food is extremely precarious in the hunter-ſtate; ſometimes ſuperabounding with little fatigue, ſometimes failing after great fatigue. A ſavage, like other animals of prey, has a ſtomach adjuſted to that variety: he can bear a long faſt; and gorges voraciouſly when he has plenty, without being the worſe for it. Whence it is, that barbarians, who have ſcarce any ſenſe of decency, are great and groſs feeders *. They are equally addicted to drunkenneſs; and peculiarly fond of ſpirituous liquors. Drinking was a faſhionable vice in Greece, when Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, wrote, if we can rely on the tranſlations or imitations of thoſe writers by Plautus and Terence. Diodorus Siculus reports, that in his time the Gauls, like other barbarians, were much addicted to drinking. The ancient Scandinavians, who, like other ſavages, were intemperate in eating and drinking, ſwallowed

* In the Iliad of Homer, book 9. Agamemnon calls a council at night in his tent. Before entering on buſineſs, they go to ſupper, (*line* 122.). An embaſſy to Achilles is reſolved on. The ambaſſadors again ſup with Achilles on pork-griſkins, (*line* 271.). Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer; and the ſame night Ulyſſes and Diomed ſet out on their expedition to the Trojan camp: returning before day, they had a third ſupper.

large cups to their gods, and to ſuch of their countrymen as had fallen bravely in battle. We learn from the 25th fable of the Edda, which was their ſacred book, that to hold much liquor was reputed a heroic virtue. Contarini the Venetian ambaſſador, who wrote ann. 1473, ſays, that the Ruſſians were abandoned to drunkenneſs; and that the whole race would have been extirpated, had not ſtrong liquors been diſcharged by the ſovereign. The Kamſkatkans love fat; and a man entertains his gueſts by cramming into their mouths fat ſlices of a ſeal, or a whale, cutting off with his knife what hangs out.

A habit of faſting long, acquired as above in the hunter-ſtate, made meals in the ſhepherd-ſtate leſs frequent than at preſent, tho' food was at hand. Anciently people fed but once a-day, a faſhion that continued even after luxury was indulged in other reſpects. In the war of Xerxes againſt Greece, it was pleaſantly ſaid of the Abderites, who were burdened with providing for the King's table, that they ought to thank the gods for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a-day. Plato held the Sicilians to be gluttons for having two meals a-day. Arrian (*a*) obſerves, that the Tyrrhenians had a bad habit of two meals a-day. In the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his hiſtory of Scotland, exclaiming againſt the growing luxury of his cotemporaries, ſays, that ſome perſons were ſo gluttonous as to have three meals a-day.

Luxury undoubtedly, and love of ſociety, tended to increaſe the number of meals beyond what nature requires. On the other hand, there is a cauſe that abridged the number for ſome time, which is, the introduction of machines. Bodily ſtrength is eſſential to a ſavage, being his only tool; and with it he performs wonders. Machines have rendered bodily ſtrength of little

(*a*) Lib. 4. cap. 16.

importance;

importance; and as men labour leſs than originally, they eat leſs in proportion *. Liſten to Hollinſhed the Engliſh hiſtorian upon that article: "Heretofore there hath been much more time ſpent "in eating and drinking than commonly is in theſe days; for "whereas of old we had breakfaſts in the forenoon, beverages "or nuntions after dinner, and thereto rear ſuppers when it was "time to go to reſt; now theſe odd repaſts, thanked be God, are "very well left, and each one contenteth himſelf with dinner and "ſupper only." Thus before cookery and luxury crept in, a moderate ſtomach, occaſioned by the abridging bodily labour, made eating leſs frequent than formerly. But the motion did not long continue retrograde: good cookery, and the pleaſure of eating in company, turned the tide; and people now eat leſs at a time, but more frequently.

Feaſts in former times were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmſbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II. ſays, "That "the Engliſh were univerſally addicted to drunkenneſs, conti-"nuing over their cups day and night, keeping open houſe, and "ſpending the income of their eſtates in riotous feaſts, where eat-"ing and drinking were carried to exceſs, without any elegance." People who live in a corner, imagine that every thing is peculiar to themſelves: what Malmſbury ſays of the Engliſh, is common to all nations, in advancing from the ſelfiſhneſs of ſavages to a reliſh for ſociety, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites. Leland (*a*) mentions a feaſt given by the Archbiſhop of York, at his inſtallation, in the reign of Edward IV. The following is a ſpecimen: 300 quarters of wheat, 300 tons of ale, 100 tons of wine, 1000 ſheep, 104 oxen, 304 calves, 304 ſwine,

* Before fire-arms were known, people gloried in addreſs and bodily ſtrength, and commonly fought hand to hand. But violent exerciſes becoming leſs and leſs neceſſary, went inſenſibly out of faſhion.

(*a*) Collectanea.

2000 geeſe, 1000 capons, 2000 pigs, 400 ſwans, 104 peacocks, 1500 hot veniſon paſties, 4000 cold, 5000 cuſtards hot and cold. Such entertainments are a picture of manners. At that early period, there was not diſcovered in ſociety any pleaſure but that of crouding together in hunting and feaſting. The delicate pleaſures of converſation, in communicating opinions, ſentiments, and deſires, were to them utterly unknown. There appeared however, even at that early period, a faint dawn of the fine arts. In ſuch feaſts as are mentioned above, a curious deſert was ſometimes exhibited, termed *ſutteitie*, viz. paſte moulded into the ſhape of animals. On a ſaint's day, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were ſet upon the table in plenty. A feaſt given by Trivultius to Lewis XII. of France, in the city of Milan, makes a figure in Italian hiſtory. No fewer than 1200 ladies were invited; and the Cardinals of Narbon and St Severin, with many other prelates, were among the dancers. After dancing followed the feaſt, to regulate which there were no fewer employ'd than 160 maſterhouſcholds. Twelve hundred officers, in an uniform of velvet, or ſatin, carried the victuals, and ſerved at the ſide-board. Every table, without diſtinction, was ſerved with ſilver-plate, engraved with the arms of the landlord; and beſide a prodigious number of Italian lords, the whole court, and all the houſehold of the King, were feaſted. The bill of fare of an entertainment given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to a company of 1500 perſons, on his coming of age, is a ſample of ancient Engliſh hoſpitality, which appears to have nothing in view but crouding and cramming merely. The following paſſage is from Hollinſhed: "That the "length and ſumptuouſneſs of feaſts formerly in uſe, are not "totally left off in England, notwithſtanding that it proveth very "beneficial to the phyſicians, who moſt abound where moſt ex"ceſs and miſgovernment of our bodies do appear." He adds, that claret, and other French wines, were deſpiſed, and ſtrong

wines

and cheeſe, formerly the chief food of his countrymen, were in his time degraded to be the food of the lower ſort; and that the wealthy fed upon fleſh and fiſh. By a roll of the King of Scotland's houſehold-expence, anno 1378, we find, that the art of gelding cattle was known. The roll is in Latin, and the gelt hogs are termed *porcelli eunuchi*. Mention is alſo made of chickens, which were not common on Engliſh tables at that time. Olive oil is alſo mentioned.

In this progreſs, cooks, we may believe, came to make a figure. Hollinſhed obſerves, that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employ'd as cooks muſical-headed Frenchmen and ſtrangers, as he terms them. He ſays, that even merchants, when they gave a feaſt, rejected butcher's meat as unworthy of their tables; having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, repreſenting flowers, trees, beaſts, fiſh, fowl, and fruit. Henry Wardlaw Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, obſerving the refinements in cookery introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had been eighteen years a priſoner in England, exclaimed againſt the abuſe in a parliament held at Perth 1433: he obtained a law, reſtraining ſuperfluous diet; and prohibiting the uſe of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen, and permitting it to gentlemen on feſtival-days only; which baked meat, ſays the biſhop, was never before ſeen in Scotland. The peaſants in Sicily regale themſelves with ice during ſummer. They ſay, that a ſcarcity of ſnow would be more grievous to them than a ſcarcity of corn, or of wine. Such progreſs has luxury made, even among the populace. People of faſhion in London and in Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be ſurpriſed to be told, that they are ſtill deficient in that art. In order to advance luxury of the table to the *acme* of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every diſh, as there was in ancient Egypt a phyſician for every diſeaſe.

Barbarous nations, being great eaters, are fond of large joints of

of meat: and love of ſhow retains great joints in faſhion, even after meals become more moderate: a wild boar was roaſted whole for a ſupper-diſh to Antony and Cleopatra; and when ſtuffed with poultry and wild-fowl, it was a favourite diſh at Rome, termed the *Trojan boar*, in alluſion to the Trojan horſe. The hoſpitality of the Anglo-Saxons was ſometimes exerted in roaſting an ox whole. Great joints are left off gradually, as people become more and more delicate in eating. In France, great joints are leſs in uſe than formerly; and in England, the voluminous ſurloin of roaſt beef, formerly the pride of the nation, is now in polite families relegated to the ſide-board. In China, where manners are carried to a high degree of refinement, diſhes are compoſed entirely of minced meat.

In early times, people were no leſs plain in their houſes than in their food. Toward the end of the ſixteenth century, when Hollinſhed wrote, the people of England were beginning to build with brick and ſtone. Formerly houſes were made of poſts wattled together, and plaiſtered with clay to keep out the cold: the roof was ſtraw, ſedge, or reed. It was an obſervation of a Spaniard in Queen Mary's days, "Theſe Engliſh have their houſes of ſticks "and dirt, but they fare as well as the King." Hollinſhed mentioning multitudes of chimneys lately erected, obſerves, upon the authority of ſome old men, that in their younger days there were not above two or three, if ſo many, in moſt uplandiſh towns of the realm, religious houſes and manor-places of their lords excepted; but that each made his fire againſt a rere-doſſe in the hall, where he dined, and dreſſed his meat. From Lord Northumberland's houſehold-book, it would ſeem, that grates were unknown at that time, and that they burnt their coal upon the hearth: a certain ſum is allotted for purchaſing wood; becauſe, ſays the book, coals will not burn without it. There is alſo a certain ſum allotted for purchaſing charcoal, that the ſmoke of the ſea-

coal might not hurt the arras. In the fourteenth century, the houſes of private perſons in Paris, as well as in London, were of wood. The ſtreets of Paris, not being paved, were covered with mud; and yet for a woman to travel thoſe ſtreets in a cart, was held an article of luxury, and as ſuch prohibited by Philip the Fair. Paris is enlarged two thirds ſince the death of Henry IV. tho' at that time it was perhaps not much leſs populous than at preſent.

They were equally plain in their houſehold-furniture. While money was ſcarce, ſervants got land inſtead of wages. An old tenure in England binds the vaſſal to find ſtraw for the King's bed, and hay for his horſe. From Lord Northumberland's houſehold-book, mentioned above, it appears, that the linen allowed for a whole year amounted to no more than ſeventy ells; of which there were to be eight table-cloths (no napkins) for his Lordſhip's table, and two towels for waſhing his face and hands. Pewter veſſel was prohibited to be hired, except on Chriſtmas, Eaſter, St George's day, and Whitſunday. Hollinſhed mentions his converſing with old men who remarked many alterations in England within their remembrance; that their fathers, and they themſelves formerly, had nothing to ſleep on but a ſtraw pallat, with a log of timber for a pillow; a pillow, ſaid they, being thought meet only for a woman in childbed; and that if a man in ſeven years after marriage could purchaſe a flock-bed, and a ſack of chaff to reſt his head upon, he thought himſelf as well lodged as the lord of the town; who peradventure lay ſeldom on a bed entirely of feathers. Another thing they remarked, was change of houſehold-veſſel from timber plates into pewter, and from wooden ſpoons into tin or ſilver.

Nor were they leſs plain in their dreſs. By an act of parliament in Scotland, *anno* 1429, none were permitted to wear ſilk or coſtly furs, but knights and lords of 200 merks yearly rent. But luxury in dreſs advanced ſo faſt, that by another act, *anno* 1457, the ſame dreſs was permitted to aldermen, bailies, and other good worthy

worthy men within burgh. And by a third act, *anno* 1471, it was permitted to gentlemen of L. 100 yearly rent. By a ſumptuary law in Scotland, *anno* 1621, cloth of gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver lace, velvet, ſatin, and other ſilk ſtuffs, were prohibited except to noblemen, their wives and children, to lords of parliament, prelates, privy counſellors, lords of manors, judges, magiſtrates of towns, and to thoſe who have 6000 merks of yearly rent. Such diſtinctions, with reſpect to landed rent eſpecially, are invidious; nor can they ever be kept up. James, the firſt Britiſh monarch, was, during infancy, committed to the care of the Dowager-Counteſs of Mar, who had been educated in France. The King being ſeized with a cholic in the night-time, his houſehold ſervants flew to his bed-chamber, men and women, naked as they were born; the Counteſs alone had a ſmock.

During the reign of Edward III. the imports into England were not the ſeventh part of the exports. Our exports at that time were not the ſeventh part of our preſent exports; and yet our luxury is ſuch, that with all our political regulations, it is with difficulty that the balance of trade is preſerved in our favour.

Men in different ages differ widely in their notions of luxury: every new object of ſenſual gratification, and every indulgence beyond what is uſual, are commonly termed *luxury*; and ceaſe to be luxury when they turn habitual. Thus, every hiſtorian, ancient and modern, while he inveighs againſt the luxury of his own times, wonders at former hiſtorians for characteriſing as luxury what he conſiders as conveniencies merely, or rational improvements. Hear the Roman hiſtorian, talking of the war that his countrymen carried on ſucceſsfully againſt Antiochus King of Syria: "Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Aſiatico invecta ur-" bem eſt. Ii primum lectos æratos, veſtem ſtragulam pretio-" ſam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quæ tum magnificæ ſupellecti-" lis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt. Tunc

" pſaltriæ ſambuſiſtriæque, et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta " addita epulis: epulæ quoque ipſæ et cura et ſumptu majore ad- " parari cœptæ: tum coquus, viliſſimum antiquis mancipium eſti- " matione et uſu, in pretio eſſe; et, quod miniſterium fuerat, " ars haberi cœpta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conſpiciebantur, " ſemina erant futuræ luxuriæ * (*a*)." Houſehold-furniture at Rome muſt at that period have been exceedingly plain, when a carpet and a one-footed table were reckoned articles of luxury. When the gelding of bulls and rams was firſt practiſed, it was probably conſidered as abominable luxury. Galvanus Fiamma, who in the fourteenth century wrote a hiſtory of Milan his native country, complains, that in his time plain living had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbaroſſa and Frederic II. when the inhabitants of Milan, a great capital, had but three fleſh meals in a week, when wine was a rarity, when the better ſort made uſe of dried wood for candles, and when their ſhirts were of ſerge, linen being confined to perſons of the higheſt rank. " Matters," ſays he, " are wonderful- " ly changed: linen is a common wear: the women dreſs in ſilk, " ornamented frequently with gold and ſilver; and they wear

* " For the Aſiatic ſoldiers firſt introduced into Rome the foreign luxury. They firſt brought with them beds ornamented with brazen ſculptures, painted coverings, curtains and tapeſtry, and what were then eſteemed magnificent furniture, ſide-boards, and tables with one foot. Then to the luxury of our feaſts were added ſinging girls, female players on the lute, and morris-dancers: greater care and expence were beſtowed upon our entertainments: the cook, whom our forefathers reckoned the meaneſt ſlave, became now in high eſteem and requeſt; and what was formerly a ſervile employment, was now exalted into a ſcience. All theſe however ſcarcely deſerve to be reckoned the ſeeds or buds of the luxury of after times."

(*a*) Tit. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 6.

" gold

" gold pendants at their ears." A hiſtorian of the preſent times would laugh at Fiamma, for ſtating as articles of luxury what are no more but decent for a tradeſman and his wife. John Muſſo, a native of Lombardy, who alſo wrote in the fourteenth century, declaims againſt the luxury of his time, and particularly againſt the luxury of the citizens of Placentia, his countrymen. " Luxu-
" ry of the table," ſays he, " of dreſs, of houſes and houſehold-
" furniture, in Placentia, begun to creep in after the year 1300.
" Houſes have at preſent halls, rooms with chimneys, portico's,
" wells, gardens, and many other conveniencies unknown to our
" anceſtors. A houſe that has now many chimneys, had none in
" the laſt age. The fire was placed in the middle of the houſe,
" without any vent for the ſmoke but the tiles: all the family ſat
" round it, and the victuals were dreſſed there. The expence of
" houſehold-furniture is ten times greater than it was ſixty years
" ago. The taſte for ſuch expence comes to us from France, from
" Flanders, and from Spain. Eating-tables, formerly but twelve
" inches long, are now grown to eighteen. They have table-
" cloths, with cups, ſpoons, and forks, of ſilver, and large
" knives. Beds have ſilk coverings and curtains. They have
" got candles of tallow or wax, in candleſticks of iron or copper.
" Almoſt every where there are two fires, one for the chamber
" and one for the kitchen. Confections have come greatly in
" uſe, and ſenſuality regards no expence." Holinſhed exclaims againſt the luxury and effeminacy of his time. " In times paſt," ſays he, " men were contented to dwell in houſes builded of ſal-
" low, willow, plumtree, or elm; ſo that the uſe of oak was de-
" dicated to churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noble-
" mens lodgings, and navigation. But now theſe are rejected,
" and nothing but oak any whit regarded. And yet ſee the
" change; for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had
" we oaken men; but now that our houſes are made of oak, our
" men

" men are not only become willow, but many, thro' Perſian deli-
" cacy crept in among us, altogether of ſtraw, which is a ſore al-
" teration. In thoſe days, the courage of the owner was a ſuffi-
" cient defence to keep the houſe in ſafety; but now, the aſſu-
" rance of the timber, double doors, locks and bolts, muſt de-
" fend the man from robbing. Now have we many chimneys,
" and our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poſes.
" Then had we none but rere-doſſes, and our heads did never ake.
" For as the ſmoke in thoſe days was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient
" hardening for the timber of the houſe; ſo it was reputed a far
" better medicine to keep the goodman and his family from the
" quack or poſe, wherewith very few were then acquainted."
Not many years above fifty, French wine, in the Edinburgh ta-
verns, was preſented to the gueſts in a ſmall tin veſſel, meaſuring
about an Engliſh pint. A ſingle drinking-glaſs ſerved a company
the whole evening; and the firſt perſons who inſiſted for a clean
glaſs with every new pint were accuſed of luxury. A knot of
highlanders benighted, wrapped themſelves up in their plaids,
and lay down on the ſnow to ſleep. A young gentleman making
up a ball of ſnow, uſed it for a pillow. His father (*a*), ſtriking a-
way the ball with his foot, " What, Sir," ſays he, " are you
" turning effeminate?" Crantz, deſcribing the kingdom of Nor-
way, and the manners of the people, has the following reflection.
" Robuſtiſſimos educat viros, qui, nulla frugum luxuria moliti,
" ſæpius impugnant alios quam impugnantur *." In the moun-
tainous iſland of Rum, one of the weſtern iſlands of Scotland,

* " It produces a moſt robuſt race of men, who are enervated by no luxury of
" food, and are more prone to attack and haraſs their neighbours than ſubjected to
" their attacks."

(*a*) Sir Evan Cameron.

the

the corn produced ſerves the inhabitants but a few months in winter. The reſt of the year they live on fleſh, fiſh, and milk; and yet are healthy and long-lived. In the year 1768, a man died there, aged 103, who was 50 years old before he ever taſted bread. This old man frequently harangued upon the plain fare of former times, finding fault with his neighbours for indulging in bread; and upbraiding them with their toiling like ſlaves for the production of ſuch an unneceſſary article of luxury.

Thus every one exclaims againſt the luxury of the preſent times, judging more favourably of the paſt; as if what is luxury at preſent, would ceaſe to be luxury when it becomes cuſtomary. What is the foundation of a ſentiment ſo univerſal? In point of dignity, corporeal pleaſures are the loweſt of all that belong to our nature; and for that reaſon, perſons of delicacy diſſemble the pleaſure they take in eating and drinking (*a*). When corporeal pleaſure is indulged to exceſs, it is not only low, but mean. But as in judging of things that admit of degrees, compariſon is the ordinary ſtandard, every refinement in corporeal pleaſure beyond what is cuſtomary, is held to be an exceſs, blameable as below the dignity of human nature. Thus every improvement in living is pronounced to be luxury while recent, and drops that character when it comes into common uſe. For the ſame reaſon, what is moderation in the capital, is eſteemed luxury in a country-town. Doth luxury then depend entirely on compariſon? is there no other foundation for diſtinguiſhing moderation from exceſs? This will hardly be maintained.

This ſubject is thrown into obſcurity by giving different meanings to the term *luxury*. A French writer holds every ſort of food to be luxury, but raw fleſh and acorns, which were the original food of ſavages; and every ſort of covering to be luxury but

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 356. edit. 5.

ſkins,

ſkins, which were their original cloathing. According to that definition, the plough, the ſpade, the loom, are all of them inſtruments of luxury; and in that view he juſtly extols luxury to the ſkies. Let every man enjoy the privilege of giving his own meaning to words: at the ſame time, when a man deviates ſo far from their uſual meaning, the neglect to define them is inexcuſable. In common language, and in common apprehenſion, luxury always implies a faulty exceſs; and upon that account is condemned by all writers, ſuch only excepted as affect to be ſingular.

This is clearly one branch of the definition of luxury. Another is, that the exceſs muſt be habitual: a ſingle act of intemperance, however faulty, is not denominated luxury: reiteration muſt be ſo frequent as to become a confirmed habit.

Nor are theſe particulars all that enter into the definition of luxury. There are many pleaſures, however intemperate or habitual, that are not branded with that odious name. Mental pleaſure, ſuch as ariſes from ſentiment or reaſoning, falls not within the verge of luxury, to whatever exceſs indulged. If to relieve merit in diſtreſs be luxury, it is only ſo in a metaphorical ſenſe: nor is it deemed luxury in a damſel of fifteen to peruſe love-novels from morning to evening. Luxury is confined to the external ſenſes: nor does it belong to every one of theſe; the fine arts have no relation to luxury. A man is not even ſaid to be luxurious, merely for indulging in dreſs, or in fine furniture. Hollinſhed inveighs againſt drinking-glaſſes as an article of luxury. At that rate, a houſe adorned with fine pictures or ſtatues would be an imputation on the proprietor. Thus paſſing in review every pleaſure of external ſenſe, we find, that in proper language the term luxury is not applicable to any pleaſure of the eye or ear. That term is confined to the pleaſures of taſte, touch, and ſmell, which

which appear as exiſting at the organ of ſenſe, and upon that account are held to be merely corporeal (*a*).

Having thus circumſcribed our ſubject within its proper bounds, the important point that remains to be aſcertained is, Whether we have any rule for determining what exceſs in corporeal pleaſure may juſtly be denominated faulty. About that point we are at no loſs. Tho' our preſent life be a ſtate of trial, yet our Maker has kindly indulged us in every pleaſure that is not hurtful to the mind, or to the body; and therefore it can only be hurtful exceſs that falls under the cenſure of being luxurious. It is faulty as a tranſgreſſion of ſelf-duty; and as ſuch it is condemned by the moral ſenſe. The moſt violent declaimer againſt luxury will not affirm, that bread is luxury, or a ſnow-ball uſed for a pillow; for theſe are innocent, becauſe they do no harm. As little will it be affirmed, that dwelling-houſes more capacious than thoſe originally built ought to be condemned as luxury, ſince they contribute to cheerfulneſs as well as to health. The plague, ſome centuries ago, made frequent viſits in London, promoted by air ſtagnating in narrow ſtreets, and ſmall houſes. After the great fire *anno* 1666, the houſes and ſtreets were enlarged, and the plague has not once been known in London.

Man conſiſts of ſoul and body, ſo intimately connected, that the one cannot be at eaſe while the other ſuffers. In order to have *mens ſana in corpore ſano*, it is neceſſary to ſtudy the health of both: bodily health ſupports the mind; and nothing tends more than cheerfulneſs to ſupport the body, even under a diſeaſe. To preſerve this complicated machine in order, certain exerciſes are proper for the body, and certain for the mind; which ought never to encroach the one on the other. Much motion and bodily exerciſe tend to make us robuſt; but in the mean time the mind

(*a*) See Elements of Criticiſm, Introduction.

is ſtarved: much reading and reflection fortify the mind, but in the mean time the body is ſtarved. Nor is this all: exceſs in either is deſtructive to both; for exerciſe too violent, whether of mind or body, wears the machine. Indolence, on the other hand, relaxes the machine, and renders it weak or languid. Bodily indolence breeds the gout, the gravel, and many other diſeaſes: nor is mental indolence leſs pernicious, for it breeds peeviſhneſs and puſillanimity. Thus health both of mind and body is beſt preſerved by moderate exerciſe. And hence a general propoſition, That every indulgence in corporeal pleaſure, which favours either too violent or too languid exerciſe, whether of mind or body, is hurtful, and conſequently is luxury in its proper ſenſe. It is ſcarce neceſſary to be added, that every ſuch indulgence is condemned by the moral ſenſe; for every man can bear teſtimony of this from what he himſelf feels.

Too great indulgence in corporeal pleaſure ſeldom prompts violent exerciſe; but inſtances are without number of its relaxing even that moderate degree of exerciſe which is healthful both to mind and body. This in particular is the caſe of too great indulgence in eating or drinking: ſuch indulgence creates a habitual appetite, which demanding more than nature requires, loads the ſtomach, depreſſes the ſpirits, and brings on a habit of liſtleſſneſs and inactivity, which renders men cowardly and effeminate *. And what does the epicure gain by ſuch exceſs? In the grandeſt palace the maſter occupies not a greater ſpace than his meaneſt domeſtic; and brings to his moſt ſumptuous feaſt perhaps leſs appetite than any of his gueſts. Satiety withal makes him loſe the

* Luxury and ſelfiſhneſs render men cowards. People who are attached to riches, and ſenſual pleaſure, cannot think of abandoning them without horror. A virtuous man conſiders himſelf as placed here in order to obey the will of his Maker: he performs his duty, and is ready to quit his poſt upon the firſt ſummons.

reliſh

reliſh even of rarities, which afford to others a poignant pleaſure. What enjoyment then have the opulent above others? Let them beſtow their riches in making others happy: ſuch benevolence will double their own happineſs, firſt, in the direct act of doing good; and next, in reflecting upon the good they have done, the moſt delicate of all feaſts.

Had the Engliſh continued Pagans, they would have invented a new deity to preſide over cookery. I ſay it with regret, but muſt ſay it, that a luxurious table, covered with every dainty, ſeems to be their favourite idol. A miniſter of ſtate never withſtands a feaſt; and the link that unites thoſe in oppoſition is, the cramming one another *. I ſhall not be ſurpriſed to hear, that the cramming a miſtreſs has become the moſt faſhionable mode of courtſhip. That ſort of luxury is not unknown in their univerſities; and it is perhaps the only branch of education that ſeldom proves abortive. It has not eſcaped obſervation, that between the 1740 and 1770 no fewer than ſix mayors of London died in office, a greater number than in the preceding 500 years: ſuch havock doth luxury in eating make among the ſons of Albion. How different the manners of their forefathers! Bonduca their Queen, ready to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, encouraged her army with a pathetic ſpeech, urging in particular the following conſideration: "The great advantage we have over "them is, that they cannot, like us, bear hunger, thirſt, heat, "nor cold. They muſt have fine bread, wine, and warm houſes: "every herb and root ſatisfies our hunger; water ſupplies the "want of wine; and every tree is to us a warm houſe (*a*) †."

The

(*a*) Dion Caſſius.

* This was compoſed in the year 1770.

† Providence has provided the gout as a beacon on the rock of luxury to warn

The indulging in down-beds, ſoft pillows, and eaſy ſeats, is a ſpecies of luxury, becauſe it tends to enervate the body, and to render it unfit for fatigue. Some London ladies employ an operator for pairing their nails. Two young women of high quality, who were ſiſters, employ'd a ſervant with ſoft hands to raiſe them gently out of bed in a morning. Nothing leſs than all-powerful vanity can make ſuch perſons ſubmit to the fatigues of a toilet: how can they ever think of ſubmitting to the horrid pangs of child-bearing? In the hot climates of Aſia, people of rank are rubbed and chaffed twice a-day; which, beſide being pleaſant, is neceſſary for health, by moving the blood, in a hot country, where ſloth and indolence prevail. The Greeks and Romans were curried, bathed, and oiled, daily; tho' they had not the ſame excuſe for that practice: it was luxury in them, tho' not in the Aſiatics.

With reſpect to exerciſe, the various machines that have been invented for executing every ſort of work, render bodily ſtrength of leſs importance than formerly. This change is favourable to mental operations, without hurting bodily health. The travelling on horſeback, tho' a leſs vigorous exertion of ſtrength than walking, is not luxury, becauſe it is a healthful exerciſe. I dare not ſay ſo much for wheel-carriages: a ſpring-coach, rolling along a ſmooth road, gives no exerciſe; or ſo little, as to be preventive of no diſeaſe: it tends to enervate the body, and in ſome meaſure alſo the mind. The increaſe of wheel-carriages within a century is a pregnant proof of the growth of luxurious indolence. During the reign of James I. the Engliſh judges rode to Weſtminſter on horſeback, and probably did ſo for many years after his death. Charles I.

againſt it. But in vain: during diſtreſs, vows of temperance are made: during the intervals, theſe vows are forgot. Luxury has gained too much ground in this iſland to be reſtrained by admonition.

iſſued

iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting hackney-coaches to be uſed in London, except by thoſe who travel at leaſt three miles out of town. At the Reſtoration, Charles II. made his public entry into London on horſeback, between his two brothers, Dukes of York and Glouceſter. We have Ruſhworth for our voucher, that in London, not above a hundred years ago, there were but twenty hackney-coaches; which at the ſame time did not ply on the ſtreets, but were kept at home till called for. He adds, that the King and council publiſhed a proclamation againſt them, becauſe they raiſed the price of provender upon the King, nobility, and gentry. At preſent, 1000 hackney-coaches ply on the ſtreets of London, beſide a great number of ſtage-coaches for travelling from London to all parts of the kingdom. The firſt coach with glaſſes in France was brought from Bruſſels to Paris, *anno* 1660, by the Prince of Condé. Sedan-chairs were not known in England before the year 1634. Cookery and coaches have reduced the military ſpirit of the Engliſh nobility and gentry to a languid ſtate: the former, by overloading the body, has infected them with diſpiriting ailments; the latter, by foſtering eaſe and indolence, have baniſhed labour, the only antidote to ſuch ailments. Too great indulgence in the fine arts conſumes part of that time which ought to be employ'd on the important duties of life: but the fine arts, even when too much indulged, produce one good effect, which is, to ſoften and humanize our manners: nor do they harm the body, if they relax not that degree of exerciſe which is neceſſary for ſupporting it in health and vigour.

The enervating effects of luxury upon the body are above all remarkable in war. The officers of Alexander's army were ſoon tainted with Aſiatic manners. Moſt of them, after bathing, had ſervants for rubbing them, and inſtead of plain oil, uſed precious ointments. Leonatus in particular commiſſioned from Egypt the powder he uſed when he wreſtled, which loaded ſeveral camels.

Alexander

Alexander reproved them mildly: "I wonder that men who have "undergone ſuch fatigues in war, are not taught by experience, "that labour produces ſweeter and ſounder ſleep than indolence. "To be voluptuous is an abject and ſlaviſh ſtate. How can a "man take care of his horſe, or keep his armour bright, who "diſdains to employ his own hands upon what is deareſt to him, "his own body (*a*)?"

When we attend to the mind ſingly, manifold are the pernicious effects of luxury. Corporeal pleaſures, being all of them ſelfiſh, tend, when much indulged, to make ſelfiſhneſs the leading principle. Voluptuouſneſs accordingly, relaxing every ſympathetic affection, brings on a beaſtly ſelfiſhneſs, which leaves nothing of man but the external figure. Luxury beſide renders the mind ſo effeminate as to be ſubdued by every diſtreſs: the ſlighteſt pain, whether of mind or body, is a real evil: and any higher degree becomes a ſevere torture. The French are far gone in that diſeaſe. Pictures of deep diſtreſs, which attract Engliſh ſpectators, are to the French unſupportable: their averſion to pain overcomes the attractive power of ſympathy, and debars from the ſtage every diſtreſs that makes a deep impreſſion on the heart. The Britiſh are gradually ſinking into the ſame weakneſs of mind: *Venice preſerv'd* collects not ſuch numbers as it did originally; and would ſcarce be endured at preſent, were not our ſympathy blunted by familiarity: a new play upon a ſimilar plan would not take. The gradual decay of manhood in Britain appears from their funeral rites. Formerly the deceaſed were attended to the grave by relations and friends of both ſexes; and the day of their death was preſerved in remembrance with ſolemn lamentations, as the day of their birth was with exhilarating cups. In England a man was firſt relieved from attending his deceaſed wife to the grave; and afterward from at-

(*a*) Plutarch.

tending

tending his deceaſed children; and now ſuch effeminacy of mind prevails there, that inſtantly upon the laſt groan, the deceaſed, abandoned by every relation, is delivered to an undertaker by profeſſion, who is left at leiſure to mimick the funeral rites. In Scotland, ſuch refinement has not yet taken place: a man is indeed excuſed from attending his wife to the grave; but he performs that duty in perſon to every other relation, his children not excepted. I am told, that people of high faſhion in England begin to leave the care of their ſick relations to hired nurſes; and think they do their duty in making ſhort viſits from time to time.

Hitherto I have conſidered luxury with reſpect to thoſe only who are infected with it; and did its poiſonous effects ſpread no wider, the caſe perhaps would be the leſs deplorable. But unhappily, where luxury prevails, the innocent ſuffer with the guilty. A man of economy, whether a merchant or a manufacturer, lays up a ſtock for his children, and adds uſeful members to the ſtate. A man, on the contrary, who lives above his fortune, or his profits, accuſtoms his children to luxury, and abandons them to poverty when he dies. Luxury at the ſame time is a great enemy to population: it enhances the expence of living, and confines many to the bachelor-ſtate. Luxury of the table in particular is remarkable for that effect: " L'homme riche met toute ſa gloire à con-
" ſommer, toute ſa grandeur à perdre en un jour à ſa table plus
" de biens qu'il n'en faudroit pour faire ſubſiſter pluſieurs fa-
" milles. Il abuſe également et des animaux et des hommes;
" dont le reſte demeure affamé, languit dans la miſére, et ne tra-
" vaille que pour ſatisfaire à l' appétit immodéré, et à la vanité
" encore plus inſatiable, de cet homme; qui detruiſant les autres
" par la diſette, ſe detruit lui-même par les exces (a) *."

To

(a) Buffon.

* " The ſole glory of the rich man is, to conſume and deſtroy; and his gran-
" deur

To conſider luxury in a political view, no refinement of dreſs, of the table, of equipage, of habitation, is luxury in thoſe who can afford the expence; and the public gains by the encouragement that is given to arts, manufactures, and commerce. But a mode of living above a man's annual income, weakens the ſtate, by reducing to poverty, not only the ſquanderers themſelves, but many innocent and induſtrious perſons connected with them. Luxury is above all pernicious in a commercial ſtate. A perſon of moderation is ſatisfied with ſmall profits: not ſo the luxurious, who deſpiſe every branch of trade but what returns great profits: other branches are ingroſſed by foreigners who are more frugal. The merchants of Amſterdam, and even of London, within a century, lived with more economy than their clerks do at preſent. Their country-houſes and gardens make not the greateſt articles of their expence. At firſt, a merchant retires to his country-houſe on Sundays only and holydays: but beginning to reliſh indolent retirement, buſineſs grows irkſome, he truſts all to his clerks, loſes the thread of his affairs, ſees no longer with his own eyes, and is now in the high way to perdition. Every croſs accident makes him totter; and in labouring circumſtances he is tempted to venture all in hopes of re-eſtabliſhment. He falls at laſt to downright gaming; which, ſetting conſcience aſide, is a prudent meaſure: he riſks only the money of his creditors, for he himſelf has nothing to loſe: it is now with him, *Cæſar aut nihil* *. Such a man never falls without involving many in his ruin,

" deur conſiſts, in laviſhing in one day upon the expence of his table what would " procure ſubſiſtence for many families. He abuſes equally animals and his fellow- " creatures; a great part of whom, a prey to famine, and languiſhing in miſery, " labour and toil to ſatisfy his immoderate deſires, and inſatiable vanity; who, " deſtroying others by want, deſtroys himſelf by exceſs."

* " Cæſar or nothing."

The

The bad effects of luxury above diſplay'd, are not the whole, nor indeed the moſt deſtructive. In all times luxury has been the ruin of every ſtate where it prevailed. But that more important branch of the ſubject is reſerved to particular ſketches, where it will make a better figure.

In the ſavage ſtate, man is almoſt all body, with a very ſmall proportion of mind. In the maturity of civil ſociety, he is complete both in mind and body. In a ſtate of degeneracy by luxury and voluptuouſneſs, he has neither mind nor body *.

* In ancient Egypt, execution againſt the perſon of a debtor was prohibited. Such a law could not obtain but among a temperate people, where bankruptcy happens by misfortune, and ſeldom by luxury or extravagance.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

BOOK II.

Progreſs of MEN in SOCIETY.

PREFACE.

IN treating of this ſubject, no opportunity has been omitted of ſuggeſting an important doctrine, That patriotiſm is the corner-ſtone of civil ſociety; that no nation ever became great and powerful without it; and, when extinguiſhed, that the moſt powerful nation is in the high-way to contempt and diſſolution. But it is ſufficient for me to ſuggeſt facts: the reader will have frequent opportunities to make the obſervation; and he will value his own reflections more than what are inculcated by an author, were he even to aſcend the pulpit, and at every turn to pronounce a ſerious harangue.

SKETCH

SKETCH I.

Appetite for SOCIETY.—Origin of NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

THat there is in man an appetite for ſociety, never was called in queſtion *. But to what end the appetite ſerves, whether it be in any manner limited, and how far men are naturally fitted for being uſeful members of civil ſociety, and for being happy in it, are

* This appetite is not denied by Vitruvius; but it ſeems to have been overlooked in the account he gives (book 2. ch. 1.) of the commencement of ſociety, which is as follows. "In ancient times, men, like wild beaſts, lived in caves and woods, "feeding on wild food. In a certain place it happened, that the trees, put in mo- "tion by tempeſtuous winds, and rubbing their branches one againſt another, "took fire. Thoſe in the neighbourhood fled for fear: but as the flames abated, "they approached; and finding the heat comfortable, they threw wood into the "fire, and preſerved it from being extinguiſhed. They then invited others to "take benefit of the fire. Men, thus aſſembled, endeavoured to expreſs their "thoughts by articulate ſounds; and by daily practice, certain ſounds, ſignifying "things in frequent uſe, came to be eſtabliſhed. From that caſual event, lan- "guage aroſe. And thus, fire having attracted many to one place, they ſoon diſ- "covered that they were by nature ſuperior to other animals, differing from them "not only in an erect poſture, which gave them opportunity to behold the beau- "ties of the heavens as well as of the earth; but alſo in their hands and fingers, "fitted for executing whatever they could invent. They therefore began to cover "their habitations with the boughs of trees; ſome dug caves in the mountains; "and, in imitation of a ſwallow's neſt, ſome ſheltered themſelves with ſprigs and "loam. Thus, by obſerving each other's work, and turning their thoughts to "invention,

are queſtions that open extenſive views into human nature, and yet have been little attended to by writers. I grieve at the neglect, becauſe the preſent enquiry requires an anſwer to theſe queſtions, however abſtruſe.

As many animals, beſide man, are ſocial, it appeared to me probable, that the ſocial laws by which ſuch animals are governed, might open views into the ſocial nature of man. But here I met with a ſecond diſappointment: for after peruſing books without end, I found very little ſatisfaction; tho' the laws of animal ſociety make the moſt inſtructive and moſt entertaining part of natural hiſtory. A few dry facts, collected occaſionally, enabled me to form the embryo of a plan, which I here preſent to the reader: if his curioſity be excited, 'tis well; for I am far from expecting that it will be gratified.

Animals of prey have no appetite for ſociety, if the momentary act of copulation be not excepted. Wolves make not an exception, even where, inſtigated by hunger, they join in attacking a village: as fear prevents them ſingly from an attempt ſo hazardous, their caſual union is prompted by appetite for food, not by appetite for ſociety. So little of the ſocial is there in wolves, that if one happen to be wounded, he is put to death, and devoured by thoſe of his own kind. Vultures have the ſame diſpoſition. Their ordinary food is a dead carcaſe; and they never venture but in a body to attack any living creature that appears formidable. Upon ſociety happineſs ſo much depends, that we do not willingly admit a lion, a tiger, a bear, or a wolf, to have any appetite for ſociety. And in with-holding it

" invention, they by degrees improved their habitations, and became daily more " and more ſkilful." Has not the celebrated Rouſſeau been guilty of the ſame overſight in his eſſay on the inequality of men? Theſe authors ſuggeſt to me the butcher, who made diligent ſearch for his knife, which he held in his teeth.

from

from ſuch animals, the goodneſs of Providence to its favourite man, is conſpicuous: their ſtrength, agility, and voracity, make them ſingly not a little formidable: I ſhould tremble for the human race, were they diſpoſed to make war in company *.

Such harmleſs animals as cannot defend themſelves ſingly, are provided with an appetite for ſociety, that they may defend themſelves in a body. Sheep are remarkable in that reſpect, when left to nature: a ram ſeldom attacks; but the rams of a flock exert great vigour in defending their females and their young †. The whole

* The care of Providence in protecting the human race from animals of prey, is equally viſible in other particulars. I can diſcover no facts to make me believe, that a lion or a tiger is afraid of a man; but whatever ſecret means are employ'd by Providence, to keep ſuch fierce and voracious animals at a diſtance, certain it is, that they ſhun the habitations of men. At preſent there is not a wild lion in Europe. Even in Homer's time there were none in Peloponneſus, tho' they were frequent in Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, down to the time of Ariſtotle: whence it is probable, that theſe countries were not at that time well peopled. When men and cattle are together, a lion always attacks a beaſt, and never a man. M. Buffon obſerves, that the bear, tho' far from being cowardly, never is at eaſe but in wild and deſert places. The great condor of Peru, a bird of prey of an immenſe ſize, bold, and rapacious, is never ſeen but in deſerts and high mountains. Every river in the coaſt of Guinea abounds with crocodiles, which lie baſking in the ſun during the heat of the day. If they perceive a man approaching, they plunge into the river, tho' they ſeldom fly from any other animal. A fox, on the contrary, a pole-cat, a kite, tho' afraid of man, draw near to inhabited places where they find prey in plenty. Such animals do little miſchief; and the little they do, promotes care and vigilance. But if men, like ſheep, were the natural prey of a lion or a tiger, their utmoſt vigour and ſagacity would ſcarce be ſufficient for ſelf-defence. Perpetual war would be their fate, without having a ſingle moment for any other occupation; and they could never have emerged out of brutal barbarity. It is poſſible that a few cattle might be protected by armed men, continually on the watch; but to defend flocks and herds covering a hundred hills, would be impracticable. Agriculture could never have exiſted in any ſhape.

* M. Buffon has beſtowed leſs pains than becomes an author of his character, upon

whole ſociety of rooks join in attacking a kite when it hovers about them. A family of wild ſwine never ſeparate till the young be ſufficiently ſtrong to defend themſelves againſt the wolf; and when the wolf threatens, they all join in a body. The pecary is a ſort of wild hog in the iſthmus of Darien: if one of them be attacked, the reſt run to aſſiſt it. There being a natural antipathy between that animal and the American tiger, it is not uncommon to find a tiger ſlain with a number of dead pecaries round him.

The ſocial appetite is to ſome animals uſeful, not only for defence, but for procuring the neceſſaries of life. Society among beavers is a notable inſtance of both. As water is the only refuge of that innocent ſpecies againſt an enemy, they inſtinctively make their ſettlement on the brink of a lake or of a running ſtream. In the latter caſe, they keep up the water to a proper height by a dam-dike, conſtructed with ſo much art as to withſtand the greateſt floods: in the former, they ſave themſelves the labour of a dam-dike, becauſe a lake generally keeps at the ſame height. Having thus provided for defence, their next care is to provide food and habitation. The whole ſociety join in erecting the dam-dike; and they alſo join in erecting houſes. Each houſe has two apartments: in the upper there is ſpace for lodging from ſix to ten beavers: the under holds their proviſions, which are trees

upon the nature and inſtincts of animals: he indeed ſcarce once ſtumbles upon truth in his natural hiſtory of the ſheep. He holds it to be ſtupid, and incapable to defend itſelf againſt any beaſt of prey; maintaining, that the race could not have ſubſiſted but under the care and protection of men. Has that author forgot, that ſheep had no enemy more formidable than men in their original hunter-ſtate? Far from being neglected by nature, there are few animals better provided for defence. They have a ſort of military inſtinct, forming a line of battle, like ſoldiers, when threatened with an attack. The rams, who, in a natural ſtate, make half of the flock, join together; and no lion or tiger is able to reſiſt their united impetuoſity.

cut

cut down by united labour, and divided into ſmall portable parts (*a*). Bees are a ſimilar inſtance. Ariſtotle (*b*) ſays, "that "bees are the only animals which labour in common, have a "houſe in common, eat in common, and have their offſpring in "common." A ſingle bee would be ſtill leſs able than a ſingle beaver, to build a houſe for itſelf and for its winter-food. The Alpine rat or marmout has no occaſion to ſtore up food for winter, becauſe it lies benumbed without motion all the cold months. But theſe animals live in tribes; and each tribe digs a habitation under ground with great art, ſufficiently capacious for lodging the whole tribe; covering the ground with withered graſs, which ſome cut, and others carry. The wild dogs of Congo and Angola hunt in packs, waging perpetual war againſt other wild beaſts. They bring to the place of rendezvous whatever is caught in hunting; and each receives its ſhare *. The baboons are ſocial animals, and avail themſelves of that quality in procuring food; witneſs their addreſs in robbing an orchard, deſcribed by Kolben in his account of the Cape of Good Hope. Some go into the orchard, ſome place themſelves on the wall, the reſt form a line on the outſide, and the fruit is thrown from hand to hand, till it reach the place of rendezvous. Extending the enquiry to all known animals, we find that the appetite for ſociety is with-held from no ſpecies to which it is neceſſary, whether for defence or for food. It appears to be diſtributed by weight and meaſure, in

* However fierce with reſpect to other animals, yet ſo ſubmiſſive are theſe dogs to men, as to ſuffer their prey to be taken from them without reſiſtance. Europeans ſalt for their ſlaves what they thus obtain.

(*a*) See the works of the beaver deſcribed moſt accurately by M. Buffon, vol. 8.

(*b*) Hiſtory of animals, b. 9. c. 40.

order

order to accommodate the internal frame of animals to their external circumſtances.

On ſome animals an appetite for ſociety is beſtow'd, tho' in appearance not neceſſary either for defence or for food. With regard to ſuch, the only final cauſe we can diſcover is the pleaſure of living in ſociety. That kind of ſociety is found among horſes. Outhier, one of the French academicians employ'd to meaſure a degree of the meridian toward the north pole, reports, that at Torneo all bulky goods are carried in boats during ſummer; but in winter, when the rivers are frozen, and the ground covered with ſnow, that they uſe ſledges drawn by horſes; that when the ſnow melts, and the rivers are open, the horſes, ſet looſe, rendezvous at a certain part of the foreſt, where they ſeparate into troops, and occupy different paſture-fields; that when theſe fields become bare, they occupy new ground in the ſame order as at firſt; that they return home in troops when the bad weather begins; and that every horſe knows its own ſtall. No creature ſtands leſs in need of ſociety than a hare, whether for food or for defence. Of food, it has plenty under its feet; and for defence, it is provided both with cunning and ſwiftneſs. Nothing however is more common in a moon-light night, than to ſee hares ſporting together in the moſt ſocial manner. But ſociety for pleaſure only, is an imperfect kind of ſociety; and far from being ſo intimate, as where it is provided by nature for defence, or for procuring food *.

With

* Pigeons muſt be excepted, if their ſociety be not neceſſary either for food or habitation, of which I am uncertain. Society among that ſpecies is extremely intimate; and it is obſervable, that the place they inhabit contributes to the intimacy. A crazy dove-cot moved the proprietor to transfer the inhabitants to a new houſe built for them; and to accuſtom them to it, they were kept a fortnight within doors, with plenty of food. When they obtained liberty, they flew directly to their

With reſpect to the extent of the appetite, no ſocial animal, as far as can be diſcovered, has an appetite for aſſociating with the whole ſpecies. Every ſpecies is divided into many ſmall tribes; and theſe tribes have no appetite for aſſociating with each other: on the contrary, a ſtray ſheep is thruſt out of the flock, and a ſtray bee muſt inſtantly retire, or be ſtung to death. Every work of Providence contributes to ſome good end: a ſmall tribe is ſufficient for mutual defence; and a very large tribe would be difficulted in procuring ſubſiſtence.

How far brute animals are by nature fitted for being uſeful members of civil ſociety, and for being happy in it, is a queſtion that no writer hath ſo much as ſtumbled on. And yet, as that branch of natural hiſtory is alſo neceſſary to my plan, I muſt proceed; tho' I have nothing to lay before the reader but a few ſcattered obſervations, which occurred when I had no view of turning them to account. I begin with the inſtinctive conduct of animals, in providing againſt danger. When a flock of ſheep in the ſtate of nature goes to reſt, ſentinels are appointed; who, on appearance of an enemy, ſtamp with the foot, and make a hiſſing ſound; upon which all take the alarm: if no enemy appear, they watch their time, return to the flock, and ſend out others in their ſtead. And in flocks that have an extenſive range in hilly countries, the ſame diſcipline obtains, even after domeſtication. Tho' monkeys ſleep upon trees, yet a ſentinel is always appointed, who muſt not ſleep under pain of being torn to pieces. They preſerve the ſame diſcipline when they rob an orchard: a ſentinel on a high tree is watchful to announce the very firſt appearance of an enemy. M. Buffon, talking of a ſort of monkey which he terms *Mal-*

their old houſe; and ſeeing it laid flat, walked round and round, lamenting. They then took wing and diſappeared, without once caſting an eye on their new habitation.

brouck, ſays, that they are fond of fruit, and of ſugar-canes; and that while they are loading themſelves, one is placed ſentinel on a tree, who, upon the approach of a man, cries, *Houp! Houp! Houp!* loudly and diſtinctly. That moment they throw away the ſugar-canes that they hold in their left hand, and run off upon three feet. When the marmouts are at work in the field, one is appointed to watch on a high rock; which advertiſes them by a loud whiſtle, when it ſees a man, an eagle, or a dog. Among beavers, notice is given of the approach of an enemy, by laſhing the water with the tail, which is heard in every habitation. Seals always ſleep on the beach; and to prevent ſurpriſe, ſentinels are placed round at a conſiderable diſtance from the main body. Wild elephants, which always travel in company, are leſs on their guard in places unfrequented: but when they invade cultivated fields, they march in order, the eldeſt in the front, and the next in age cloſing the rear. The weak are placed in the centre, and the females carry their young on their trunk. They attack in a body; and upon a repulſe, retire in a body. Tame elephants retain ſo much of their original nature, that if one, upon being wounded, turn its back, the reſt inſtantly follow. Next in order is the government of a tribe, and the conduct of its members to each other. It is not unlikely, that ſociety among ſome animals, and their mutual affection, may be ſo entire as to prevent all diſcord among them; which indeed ſeems to be the caſe of beavers. Such a ſociety, if there be ſuch, requires no government, nor any laws. A flock of ſheep occupies the ſame ſpot every night, and each hath its own reſting-place. The ſame is obſervable in horned cattle when folded. And as we find not, that any one ever attempts to diſlodge another, it is probable that ſuch reſtraint makes a branch of their nature. But ſociety among brute animals is not always ſo perfect. Perverſe inclinations, tending to diſturb ſociety, are viſible among ſome brute animals, as well as among rational men. It is not

not uncommon for a rook to pilfer ſticks from another's neſt; and the pilferer's neſt is demoliſhed by the *lex talionis*. Perverſe inclinations require government, and government requires laws. As in the caſe now mentioned, the whole ſociety join in inflicting the puniſhment, government among rooks appears to be republican. Apes, on the contrary, are under monarchical government. Apes in Siam go in troops, each under a leader, who preſerves ſtrict diſcipline. A female carnally inclined, retired from the troop, and was followed by a male. The male eſcaped from the leader, who purſued them; but the female was brought back, and in preſence of the whole troop received fifty blows on the cheek, as a chaſtiſement for its incontinence (*a*). But probably there are not many inſtances among brutes of government approaching ſo near to that of men. Government among horned cattle appears to have no other end but to preſerve order. Their government is monarchical; and the election is founded upon perſonal valour, the moſt ſolid of all qualifications in ſuch a ſociety. The bull who aſpires to be lord of the herd, muſt fight his way to preferment; and after all his rivals are beat off the field, the herd tamely ſubmit. At the ſame time he is not ſecured in the throne for life; but muſt again enter the liſts with any bull that ventures to challenge him. The ſame ſpirit is obſervable among oxen, tho' in a lower degree. The maſter-ox leads the reſt into the ſtable, or into the fold, and becomes unruly if he be not let firſt out: nay, he muſt be firſt yoked in the plough or waggon. Sheep are not employ'd in work, but in every other reſpect the ſame economy obtains among them. Where the rams happen to be few in proportion to the other ſheep, they ſometimes divide the flock among them, inſtead of fighting for precedence. Five or ſix ſcore of ſheep were purchaſed a few years ago by the author of

(*a*) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

this work. The rams, who were only two, divided the flock between them. The two parcels could not avoid paſturing in common, becauſe they were ſhut up in one incloſure: but they had different ſpots for reſt during night; nor was it known, that a ſheep ever deſerted its party, or even changed its reſting-place. In the two ſpecies laſt mentioned, I find not that there is any notion of puniſhment; nor does it appear to be neceſſary: the leader pretends to nothing but precedence, which is never diſputed. I bluſh to preſent theſe imperfect hints, the fruit of caſual obſervation, not of intentional enquiry: but I am glad to blow the trumpet, in order to raiſe curioſity in others: if the ſubject be proſecuted by men of taſte and enquiry, many final cauſes, I am perſuaded, will be diſcovered, tending more and more to diſplay the wiſdom and goodneſs of Providence. But what I have chiefly in view at preſent is, to obſerve, that government among brute animals, however ſimple, appears to be perfect in its kind; and adapted with great propriety to their nature. Factions in the ſtate are unknown: no enmity between individuals, no treachery, no deceit, nor any other of thoſe vices that infeſt the human race. In a word, they appear to be perfectly well fitted for that kind of ſociety to which they are prompted by their nature, and for being happy in it.

Storing up the foregoing obſervations till there be occaſion for them, we proceed to the ſocial nature of man. That men are endued with an appetite for ſociety, will be vouched by the concurring teſtimony of all men, each vouching for himſelf. There is accordingly no inſtance of people living in a ſolitary ſtate, where the appetite is not obſtructed by ſome potent obſtacle. The inhabitants of that part of New Holland which Dampier ſaw, live in ſociety, tho' leſs advanced above brutes than any other known ſavages; and ſo intimate is their ſociety, that they gather their food, and eat, in common. The inhabitants of the Canary iſlands lived

lived in the ſame manner, when firſt ſeen by Europeans, which was in the fourteenth century; and the ſavages mentioned by Condamine, drawn by a Jeſuit from the woods to ſettle on the banks of the Oroonoko, muſt originally have been united in ſome kind of ſociety, as they had a common language. In a word, that man hath an appetite for food, is not more certain, than that he hath an appetite for ſociety. And here I have occaſion to apply one of the obſervations made above. Abſtracting altogether from the pleaſure we have in ſociety, ſimilar to what we have in eating; evident it is, that to no animal is ſociety more neceſſary than to man, whether for food or for defence. In ſociety, he is chief of the terreſtrial creation; in a ſolitary ſtate, the moſt helpleſs and forlorn. Thus the firſt queſtion ſuggeſted above, viz. To what end was a ſocial appetite beſtow'd on man, has received an anſwer, which I flatter myſelf will give ſatisfaction.

The next queſtion is, Whether the appetite be limited, as among other animals, to a ſociety of moderate extent; or whether it prompt an aſſociation with the whole ſpecies. That the appetite is limited, will be evident from hiſtory. Men, as far back as they can be traced, have been divided into ſmall tribes or ſocieties. Moſt of theſe, it is true, have in later times been united into large ſtates: ſuch revolutions however have been brought about, not by an appetite for a more extenſive ſociety, but by conqueſt, or by the junction of ſmall tribes for defence againſt the more powerful. A ſociety may indeed be too ſmall for complete gratification of the appetite; and the appetite thus cramped welcomes every perſon into the ſociety till it have ſufficient ſcope: the Romans, a diminutive tribe originally, were fond to aſſociate even with their enemies after a victory. But, on the other hand, a ſociety may be too large for complete gratification. An extenſive empire is an object too bulky: national affection is too much diffuſed; and the mind is not at eaſe till it find a more contracted

ſociety,

ſociety, correſponding to the moderation of its appetite. Hence the numerous orders, aſſociations, fraternities, and diviſions, that ſpring up in every great ſtate. The ever-during Blues and Greens in the Roman empire, and Guelphs and Gibelines in Italy, could not have long ſubſiſted after the cauſe of their enmity was at an end, but for a tendency in the members of a great ſtate to contract their ſocial connections *. Initiations among the ancients were probably owing to the ſame cauſe; as alſo aſſociations of artiſans among the moderns, pretending myſtery and ſecrecy, and excluding all ſtrangers. Of ſuch aſſociations or brotherhoods, the free maſons excepted, there is ſcarce now a veſtige remaining.

We find now, after an accurate ſcrutiny, that the ſocial appetite in man comprehends not the whole ſpecies, but a part only; and commonly a ſmall part, preciſely as in other animals. Here another final cauſe ſtarts up, no leſs remarkable than that explain'd above. An appetite to aſſociate with the whole ſpecies, would form ſtates ſo unwieldy by numbers, as to be incapable of any government. Our appetite is wiſely confined within ſuch limits as to form ſtates of moderate extent, which of all are the beſt fitted for good government: and we ſhall ſee afterward, that they are alſo the beſt fitted for improving the human powers, and for envigorating every manly virtue. Hence an inſtructive leſſon, That a great empire is ill ſuited to human nature, and that a great conqueror is in more reſpects than one an enemy to mankind.

The limiting our ſocial appetite within moderate bounds, ſuggeſts another final cauſe. An appetite to aſſociate with the whole ſpecies, would collect into one ſociety all who are not ſeparated from each other by wide ſeas and inacceſſible mountains; and conſequently

* The never-ceaſing factions in Britain proceed, not from a ſociety too much extended, but from love of power and of wealth, to reſtrain which there is no ſufficient authority in a free government.

would

would diſtribute mankind into a very few ſocieties, conſiſting of ſuch multitudes as to reduce national affection to a mere ſhadow. Nature hath wiſely limited the appetite in proportion to our mental capacity. Our relations, our friends, and our other connections, open an extenſive field for the exerciſe of affection: nay, our country in general, if not too extenſive, would alone be ſufficient to engroſs our whole affection. But that beautiful ſpeculation falls more properly under the principles of morality; and there it ſhall not be overlooked.

What comes next in order, is to examine how we ſtand affected to thoſe who are not of our tribe or ſociety. I pave the way to this examination, by taking up man naked at his entrance into life. An infant at firſt has no feeling but bodily pain; and it is familiarized with its nurſe, its parents, and perhaps with others, before it is ſuſceptible of any paſſion. All weak animals are endowed with a principle of fear, which prompts them to ſhun danger; and fear, the firſt paſſion diſcovered in an infant, is raiſed by every new face: the infant ſhrinks and hides itſelf in the boſom of its nurſe * (*a*). Thus every ſtranger is an object of fear to an infant; and conſequently of averſion, which is generated by fear. Fear leſſens gradually as our circle of acquaintance enlarges, eſpecially in thoſe who rely on bodily ſtrength. Nothing tends more effectually to diſſipate fear, than conſciouſneſs of ſecurity in the ſocial ſtate: in ſolitude, no animal is more timid than man; in ſociety, none more bold. But remark, that averſion may ſubſiſt after fear is gone: it is propagated from parents to their children through an endleſs ſucceſſion; and is infectious like a diſeaſe. Thus enmity is kept up between tribes, without any particular

* In this reſpect the human race differs widely from that of dogs: a puppy, the firſt time it ſees a man, runs to him, licks his hand, and plays about his feet.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 441. edit. 5.

cauſe.

cauſe. A neighbouring tribe, conſtantly in our ſight, and capable to hurt us, is the object of our ſtrongeſt averſion: it leſſens in proportion to diſtance; and terminates in abſolute indifference with reſpect to very diſtant tribes. Upon the whole, it appears, that the nature of man with reſpect to thoſe of his own kind is reſolvable into the following particulars. Firſt, Affection for our private connections, and for our country in general. Second, Averſion to neighbours who are ſtrangers to us, and to neighbouring tribes in general. Third, Indifference with reſpect to all others.

As I neither hope nor wiſh, that the nature of man, as above delineated, be taken upon my authority, I propoſe to verify it by clear and ſubſtantial facts. But to avoid the multiplying inſtances unneceſſarily, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch as concern the averſion that neighbouring tribes have to each other; taking it for granted, that private affection, and love to our country, are what no perſon doubts of. I begin with examples of rude nations, where nature is left to itſelf, without culture. The inhabitants of Greenland, good-natured and inoffenſive, have not even words for expreſſing anger or envy: ſtealing among themſelves is abhorred; and a young woman guilty of that crime, has no chance for a huſband. At the ſame time, they are faithleſs and cruel to thoſe who come among them: they conſider the reſt of mankind as a different race, with whom they reject all ſociety. The morality of the inhabitants of New Zealand is not more refined. Writers differ about the inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone iſlands: Magellan, and other voyagers, ſay, that they are addicted to thieving; and their teſtimony occaſioned theſe iſlands to be called *Ladrones*. Pere le Gobien, on the contrary, ſays, that, far from being addicted to thieving, they leave every thing open, having no diſtruſt one of another. Theſe accounts differ in appearance, not in reality. Magellan was a ſtranger; and he talks of ſtealing from

from him and from his companions. Father Gobien lived long among them, and talks of their fidelity to each other. Plan Carpin, who viſited Tartary in the year 1246, obſerves of the Tartars, that, tho' full of veracity to their neighbours, they thought themſelves not bound to ſpeak truth to ſtrangers. The Greeks anciently were held to be pirates: but not properly; for they committed depredations upon ſtrangers only. Cæſar, ſpeaking of the Germans (*a*), ſays, "Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ extra fines cujuſque civitatis fiunt *." This was preciſely the caſe of our highlanders, till they were brought under due ſubjection after the rebellion 1745. Bougainville obſerves, that the inhabitants of Otaheite, named by the Engliſh *King George's iſland*, made no difficulty of ſtealing from his people; and yet never ſteal among themſelves, having neither locks nor bars in their houſes. The people of Benin in Negroland are good-natured, gentle, and civilized; and ſo generous, that if they receive a preſent, they are not at eaſe till they return it double. They have unbounded confidence in their own people; but are jealous of ſtrangers, tho' they politely hide their jealouſy. Ruſſian peaſants think it a greater ſin to eat meat in Lent, than to murder one of another country. Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamſkatka, murder within the tribe is ſeverely puniſhed; but to murder a ſtranger is not minded. While Rome continued a ſmall ſtate, neighbour and enemy were expreſſed by the ſame word (*b*). In England of old, a foreigner was not admitted to be a witneſs. Hence it is, that in ancient hiſtory, we read of wars without intermiſſion among ſmall

* "They hold it not infamous to rob without the bounds of their canton."

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

(*b*) Hoſtis.

ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood. It was ſo in Greece; it was ſo in Italy during the infancy of the Roman republic; it was ſo in Gaul, when Cæſar commenced hoſtilities againſt that country (*a*); and it was ſo all the world over. Many iſlands in the South ſea, and in other remote parts, have been diſcovered by Europeans; who commonly found the natives with arms in their hands, reſolute to prevent the ſtrangers from landing. Orellana, lieutenant to Gonzales Piſarro, was the firſt European who ſailed down the river Amazon to the ſea. In his paſſage, he was continually aſſaulted with arrows from the banks of the river; and ſome even ventured to attack him in their canoes.

Nor does ſuch averſion wear away even among poliſhed people. An ingenious writer (*b*) remarks, that almoſt every nation hate their neighbours, without knowing why. I once heard a Frenchman ſwear, ſays that writer, that he hated the Engliſh, *parce qu'ils verſent du beurre fondu ſur leur veau roti* *. The populace of Portugal have to this day an uncommon averſion to ſtrangers: even thoſe of Liſbon, tho' a trading town frequented by many different nations, muſt not be excepted. Travellers report, that the people of the duchy of Milan, remarkable for good-nature, are the only Italians who are not hated by their neighbours. The Piedmonteſe and Genoeſe have an averſion to each other, and agree only in their antipathy to the Tuſcans. The Tuſcans diſlike the Venetians; and the Romans abound not with good-will to the Tuſcans, Venetians, or Neapolitans. Very different is the caſe with reſpect to diſtant nations: inſtead of being objects of averſion,

* "Becauſe they pour melted butter upon their roaſt veal."

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 15. de bello Gallico.

(*b*) Baretti.

their

their manners, cuſtoms, and ſingularities, amuſe us greatly *.

Infants differ from each other in averſion to ſtrangers; ſome being extremely ſhy, others leſs ſo; and the like difference is obſervable in whole tribes. The people of Milan cannot have any averſion to their neighbours, when they are ſuch favourites of all around them. The inhabitants of ſome South-ſea iſlands, mentioned above (*a*), appear to have little or no averſion to ſtrangers. But that is a rare inſtance, and has ſcarce a parallel in any other part of the globe. It holds alſo true, that nations the moſt remarkable for patriotiſm, are equally remarkable for averſion to ſtrangers. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, were equally remarkable for both. Patriotiſm, a vigorous principle among the Engliſh, makes them extremely averſe to naturalize foreigners. The inhabitants of New Zealand, both men and women, appear to be of a mild and gentle diſpoſition; they treat one another with affection: but are implacable to their enemies, and never give quarter. It is even cuſtomary among them to eat the fleſh of their enemies.

To a perſon of humanity, the ſcene here exhibited is far from being agreeable. Man, it may be thought, is of all animals the moſt barbarous; for even animals of prey are innoxious with reſpect to their own kind †. Averſion to ſtrangers makes a branch of

* Voltaire, (Univerſal Hiſtory, ch. 40.), obſerving, rightly, that jealouſy among petty princes is productive of more crimes than among great monarchs, gives a very unſatisfactory reaſon, viz. That having little force, they muſt employ fraud, poiſon, and other ſecret crimes; not adverting, that power may be equally diſtributed among ſmall princes as well as among great. It is antipathy that inſtigates ſuch crimes, which is always the moſt violent among the neareſt neighbours.

(*a*) Book 1. ſketch 1.

† "Denique cætera animantia in ſuo genere probe degunt: congregari videmus,

of our nature: it exiſts among individuals in private life; it flames high between neighbouring tribes; and is viſible even in infancy. Can ſuch perverſity of diſpoſition promote any good end? This queſtion, which pierces deep into human nature, is reſerved to cloſe the preſent ſketch.

From the foregoing deduction, univerſal benevolence, inculcated by ſeveral writers as a moral duty, is diſcovered to be erroneous. Our appetite for ſociety is limited, and our duty muſt be limited in proportion. But of this more directly when the principles of morality are taken under conſideration.

We are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulſion in matter, are, by alteration of circumſtances, converted one into the other. This holds alſo in affection and averſion, which may be termed, not improperly, *mental attraction* and *repulſion*. Two nations, originally ſtrangers to each other, may, by commerce, or other favourable circumſtance, become ſo well acquainted, as to change from averſion to affection. The oppoſite manners of a capital and of a country-town, afford a good illuſtration. In the latter, people, occupied with their domeſtic concerns, are in a manner ſtrangers to each other: a degree of averſion prevails, which gives birth to envy and detraction. In the former, a court, with public amuſements, promote general acquaintance: repulſion yields to attraction, and people become fond to aſſociate with

" et ſtare contra diſſimilia: leonum feritas inter ſe non dimicat: ſerpentum mor-
" ſus non petit ſerpentes; ne maris quidem belluæ ac piſces, niſi in diverſa gene-
" ra, ſæviunt. At, Hercule, homini plurima ex homine ſunt mala." *Pliny, lib. 7. Proœmium.* [*In Engliſh thus:* " For other animals live at peace with thoſe of
" their ſpecies. They gather themſelves in troops, and unite againſt the common
" enemy. The ferocious lion fights not againſt his ſpecies: the poiſonous ſerpent
" is harmleſs to his kind: the monſters of the ſea prey but on thoſe fiſhes that dif-
" fer from them in nature: man alone of animals is foe to man!"]

their

their equals. The union of two tribes into one, is another circumſtance that converts repulſion into attraction. Such converſion, however, is far from being inſtantaneous; witneſs the different ſmall ſtates of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch; and this was alſo the caſe of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In ſome circumſtances the converſion is inſtantaneous; as where a ſtranger becomes an object of pity or of gratitude. Many low perſons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining ſome French ſeamen, made priſoners at the commencement of the late war. It is no leſs inſtantaneous, when ſtrangers, relying on our humanity, truſt themſelves in our hands. Among the ancients, it was hoſpitality to ſtrangers only that produced mutual affection and gratitude: Glaucus and Diomede were of different countries. Hoſpitality to ſtrangers, is a pregnant ſymptom of improving manners. Cæſar, ſpeaking of the Germans (*a*), ſays, "Hoſpites "violare, fas non putant: qui, quaqua de cauſa, ad eos vene- "runt, ab injuria prohibent, ſanctoſque habent; iis omnium "domus patent, victuſque communicatur *." The ancient Spaniards were fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but in peace, they paſſed their time in ſinging and dancing, and were remarkably hoſpitable to the ſtrangers who came among them. It ſhews great refinement in the Celtæ, that the killing a ſtranger was capital, when the killing a citizen was baniſhment only (*b*). The

* "They hold it ſacrilege to injure a ſtranger. They protect from outrage, and "venerate thoſe who come among them: their houſes are open to them, and they "are welcome to their tables."

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

(*b*) Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

Swedes

Swedes and Goths were eminently hoſpitable to ſtrangers; as indeed were all the northern nations of Europe (*a*). The negroes of Fouli, are celebrated by travellers as extremely kind to ſtrangers. The native Brazilians are ſingularly hoſpitable. A ſtranger no ſooner arrives among them than he is ſurrounded with women, who waſh his feet, and ſet before him to eat the beſt things they have. If a ſtranger have occaſion to go more than once to the ſame village, the perſon whoſe gueſt he was takes it much amiſs if he think of changing his lodging.

There are cauſes that for a time ſuſpend enmity between neighbouring ſtates. The ſmall ſtates of Greece, among whom war had no end, frequently ſmothered their enmity to join againſt the formidable monarch of Perſia. There are alſo cauſes that ſuſpend for a time all animoſity between factions in the ſame ſtate. The endleſs factions in Britain about power and pre-eminence, not a little diſagreeable during peace, are laid aſleep during a foreign war.

On the other hand, attraction is converted into repulſion by various cauſes. One is, the ſplitting a great monarchy into many ſmall ſtates; of which the Aſſyrian, the Perſian, the Roman, and the Saracen empires, are inſtances. The *amor patriæ*, faint in an extenſive monarchy, readily yields to averſion, operating between two neighbouring ſtates, leſs extenſive. This is obſervable between neighbouring colonies, even of the ſame nation: the Engliſh colonies in North America, tho' they retain ſome affection for their mother-country, have contracted an averſion to each other. And happy for them is ſuch averſion, if it prevent their uniting in order to acquire independency: wars without end would be the inevitable conſequence, as among ſmall ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood.

(*a*) Saxo Grammaticus. Crantz.

Hitherto

Hitherto the road has been ſmooth, without obſtruction. But we have not yet finiſhed our journey; and the remaining queſtion, viz. How far are men fitted by their nature for being uſeful members of civil ſociety, and for being happy in it, will, I ſuſpect, lead into a road neither ſmooth nor free from obſtruction. The ſocial branch of human nature would be wofully imperfect, if man had an appetite for ſociety without being fitted for that ſtate: the appetite, inſtead of tending to a good end, would be his bane. And yet, whether he be or be not fitted for ſociety, ſeems doubtful. In examining the conduct of man, he is to us a diſguſtful object in his averſion to thoſe of a different tribe; and I violently ſuſpect, that in his behaviour even to thoſe of his own tribe, he will ſcarce be found an agreeable object. That he is fitted by nature for being an uſeful member of a ſocial ſtate, and for being happy in it, appears from facts many and various. I inſtance firſt, ſeveral correſponding principles or propenſities, that cannot be exerted nor gratified but in ſociety, viz. the propenſities of veracity, and of relying on human teſtimony; appetite for knowledge, and deſire to communicate knowledge; anxiety in diſtreſs to be pitied, and ſympathy with the diſtreſſed; appetite for praiſe, and inclination to praiſe the deſerving *. Such correſponding propenſities, not only qualify men for the ſocial ſtate as far as their influence reaches, but attract them ſweetly into ſociety for the ſake of gratification, and make them happy in it. But this is not all, nor indeed the greater part. Do not benevolence, compaſſion, magnanimity, heroiſm, and the whole train of ſocial affections, demonſtrate our fitneſs for ſociety, and our happineſs in it? And juſtice, above all other virtues, promotes peace and con-

* Appetite for praiſe is inherent even in ſavages: witneſs thoſe of North America, who upon that account are fond of dreſs. I mean the men; for the women are ſuch miſerable ſlaves as to have no ſpirit for ornament.

cord

cord in that ſtate. Nor ought the faculty of ſpeech to be overlooked, which in an eminent degree qualifies man for ſociety, and is a plentiful ſource of enjoyment in it.

On the other hand, there are facts, not fewer in number, nor leſs various, tending to evince, that man is ill fitted for ſociety, and that there is little happineſs for him in it. What can be more averſe to concord in ſociety than diſſocial paſſions? and yet theſe prevail among men. Are not envy, malice, revenge, treachery, deceit, avarice, ambition, &c. &c. noxious weeds that poiſon ſociety? We meet every where perſons bent on the deſtruction of others, evincing that man has no enemies more formidable than of his own kind, and of his own tribe. Are not diſcord and feuds the chief articles in the hiſtory of every ſtate, factions violently bent againſt each other, and frequently breaking out into civil wars? Appian's hiſtory of the civil wars of Rome exhibits a horrid ſcene of maſſacres, proſcriptions, and forfeitures; the leaders ſacrificing their firmeſt friends, for liberty to ſuck the blood of their enemies; as if to ſhed human blood were the ruling paſſion of man. But the Romans were far from being ſingular: the polite Greeks, commonly ſo characterized, were ſtill more brutal and bloody. The following paſſage is copied from a celebrated author (*a*). "Not to mention Dionyſius the elder, who is com-
"puted to have butchered in cold blood above 10,000 of his fel-
"low-citizens; nor Agathocles, Nabis, and others, ſtill more
"bloody than he; the tranſactions even in free governments were
"extremely violent and deſtructive. At Athens, the thirty ty-
"rants, and the nobles, in a twelvemonth, murdered without
"trial about 1200 of the people, and baniſhed above the half of
"the citizens that remained. In Argos, near the ſame time, the
"people killed 1200 of the nobles, and afterward their own de-

(*a*) Eſſay of the populouſneſs of ancient nations, by David Hume, Eſq;

"magogues,

" magogues, becauſe they had refuſed to carry their proſecutions " farther. The people alſo in Corcyra killed 1500 of the nobles, " and baniſhed 1000. Theſe numbers will appear the more ſur- " priſing, if we conſider the extreme ſmallneſs of thoſe ſtates. " But all ancient hiſtory is full of ſuch inſtances." Upon a revolution in the Saracen empire ann. 750, where the Ommiyan family was expelled by that of the Abaſſians, Abdolah, chief of the latter, publiſhed an act of oblivion to the former, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to him. The Ommiyans, embracing the condition, were in appearance graciouſly received. But in preparing to take the oath, they were knocked down every one of them by the Emperor's guards. And fully to glut the monſter's cruelty, theſe princes, ſtill alive, were laid cloſe together, and covered with boards and carpets; upon which Abdolah feaſted his officers, " in order," ſaid he, " that we may be exhila- " rated with the dying groans of the Ommiyans." During the vigour of the feudal ſyſtem, when every man was a ſoldier who aſpired to be a gentleman, juſtice was no defence againſt power, nor humanity againſt bloody reſentment. Stormy paſſions raged every where with unrelenting fury; every place a chaos of confuſion and diſtreſs. No man was ſecure but in his caſtle; and to venture abroad unleſs well armed, and well attended, would have been an act of high temerity. So little intercourſe was there among the French in the tenth century, that an abbot of Clugni, invited by the Count of Paris to bring ſome monks to the abbey of St Maur, near that city, excuſed himſelf for declining a journey through a ſtrange and unknown country. In the hiſtory of Scotland, during the minority of James II. we find nothing but barbarous and cruel manners, depredations, burning of houſes, bloodſhed and maſſacre without end. Pitſcottie ſays, that oppreſſion, theft, ſacrilege, raviſhing of women, were but a *dalliance*. How ſimilar to beaſts of prey ſet looſe againſt each other in the Roman circus!

Men are prone to ſplit into parties for the very ſlighteſt cauſes; and when a cauſe is wanting, parties are often formed upon words merely. Whig and Tory ſubſiſted long in England, upon no better foundation. The Tories profeſſed paſſive obedience; but declared, that they would not be ſlaves. The Whigs profeſſed reſiſtance; but declared it unlawful to reſiſt, unleſs to prevent the being made ſlaves. Had theſe parties been diſpoſed to unite, they ſoon would have diſcovered, that they differed in words only. The ſame obſervation is applicable to many religious diſputes. One ſect maintains, that we are ſaved by faith alone; another, that good works are neceſſary. The difference lies merely in words. The firſt acknowledges, that if a man commit ſin, he cannot have faith; and conſequently under faith are comprehended good works. The other acknowledges, that good works imply good intention, or, in other words, faith; and conſequently, under good works faith is comprehended (*a*). The following inſtance, ſolemnly ludicrous, is of parties formed merely from an inclination to differ, without any cauſe real or verbal. No people were leſs intereſted in the late war between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Pruſſia than the citizens of Ravenna. They however ſplit into two parties, which renounced all ſociety with each other. After the battle of Roſbach, a leading partyman withdrew for a month, without once ſhowing his face in public. But our catalogue is not yet complete. Differences concerning civil matters make no figure compared with what concern religion. It is lamentable to obſerve, that religious ſects reſemble neighbouring ſtates; the nearer they are to one another, the greater is their rancour and animoſity. But as all hiſtories are full of the cruelty and deſolation occaſioned by differences in religious tenets, I cannot bear to dwell longer upon ſuch horrid ſcenes.

(*a*) See Knox's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 13.

What

What concluſion are we to draw from the foregoing facts, ſo inconſiſtent in appearance with each other? I am utterly at a loſs to reconcile them, otherwiſe than by holding man to be a compound of principles and paſſions, ſome ſocial, ſome diſſocial. Oppoſite principles or paſſions cannot at the ſame inſtant be exerted upon the ſame object (*a*); but they may be exerted at the ſame inſtant upon different objects, and at different times upon the ſame object. This obſervation ſerves indeed to explain a ſeeming inconſiſtency in our nature, as being at one time highly ſocial, and at another time no leſs diſſocial: but it affords not a ſolution to the queſtion, Whether, upon the whole, men be fitted for ſociety, and for being happy in it. In order to a ſolution, we find it neceſſary to take a ſecond view of the natural hiſtory of man.

In a naſcent ſociety, where men hunt and fiſh in common, where there is plenty of game, and where the ſenſe of property is faint, mutual affection prevails, becauſe there is no cauſe of diſcord; and diſſocial paſſions find ſufficient vent againſt neighbouring tribes. Such is the condition of the North-American ſavages, who continue hunters and fiſhers to this day; and ſuch is the condition of all brute animals that live in ſociety, as mentioned above. The iſland Otaheite is divided into many ſmall cantons, having each a chief of its own. Theſe cantons never make war on each other, tho' they are frequently at war with the inhabitants of neighbouring iſlands. The inhabitants of the new Philippine iſlands, if Father Gobien be credited, are better fitted for ſociety than any other known nation. Sweetneſs of temper, and love to do good, form their character. They never commit acts of violence: war they have no notion of; and it is a proverb among them, That a man never puts a man to death. Plato places the ſeat of juſtice and of happineſs among the firſt men; and a-

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 143. edit. 5.

mong them exiſted the golden age, if it ever did exiſt. But when a nation, becoming populous, begins with rearing flocks and herds, proceeds to appropriate land, and is not ſatisfied without matters of luxury over and above; ſelfiſhneſs and pride gain ground, and become ruling and unruly paſſions. Cauſes of diſcord multiply, vent is given to avarice and reſentment; and among a people not yet perfectly ſubmiſſive to government, diſſocial paſſions rage, and threaten a total diſſolution of ſociety: nothing indeed ſuſpends the impending blow, but the unwearied, tho' ſilent, operation of the ſocial appetite. Such was the condition of the Greeks at a certain period of their progreſs, as mentioned above; and ſuch was the condition of Europe, and of France in particular, during the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem, when all was diſcord, blood, and rapine. In general, where-ever avarice and diſorderly paſſions bear rule, I boldly pronounce, that men are ill qualified for ſociety.

Providence extracts order out of confuſion. Men, in a ſociety ſo uncomfortable, are taught by dire experience, that they muſt either renounce ſociety, or qualify themſelves for it — the choice is eaſy, but how difficult the practice! After infinite ſtruggles, appetite for ſociety prevailed; and time, that univerſal conqueror, perfected men in the art of ſubduing their paſſions, or of diſſembling them. Finding now no enjoyment but in ſociety, we are ſolicitous about the good-will of others; and we adhere to juſtice and good manners: diſorderly paſſions are ſuppreſſed, kindly affections encouraged, and men become leſs unfit for ſociety than formerly.

But is the progreſs of men toward the perfection of ſociety to ſtop here? are luſt of power and of property to continue for ever leading principles? are envy, revenge, treachery, deceit, never to have an end? "How devoutly to be wiſhed, (it will be ſaid), that all men "were upright and honeſt; and that all of the ſame nation were "united

" united like a ſingle family in concord and mutual affection! Here " indeed would be perpetual ſunſhine, a golden age, a ſtate ap- " proaching to that of good men made perfect in heavenly man- " ſions." Beware of indulging ſuch pleaſing dreams. The ſyſtem of Providence differs widely from our wiſhes; and ſhall ignorant man venture to arraign Providence? Are we qualified to judge of the whole, when but ſo ſmall a part is viſible? It is our duty to believe, that were the whole viſible, it would appear beautiful. We are not however reduced to an act of pure faith: a glimmering light, breaking in, makes it at leaſt doubtful, whether upon the whole it be not really better for us to be as we are. Let us follow that glimmering light to ſee where it will lead us.

I begin with obſerving, that tho' in our preſent condition we ſuffer much diſtreſs from ſelfiſh and diſſocial paſſions, yet cuſtom renders our diſtreſſes familiar, and hardens us not only to bear but to brave them. Strict adherence to the rules of juſtice would indeed ſecure our perſons and our property: robbery and murder would vaniſh, and locks and guns be heard of no more. So far excellent, were no new evils to come in their place: but the void muſt be filled, and mental diſtreſſes would break in of various kinds, ſuch particularly as proceed from refined delicacy and nice ſenſibility of honour, little regarded while we are expoſed to dangers more alarming. And whether the change would be much to our advantage, appears doubtful: pain as well as pleaſure is meaſured by compariſon; and the ſlighteſt pain, ſuch for example as ariſes from a tranſgreſſion of civility or good-breeding, will overwhelm a perſon who has never felt any more ſevere. At any rate, natural evils will remain; and that extreme delicacy and ſoftneſs of temper which are produced by eternal peace and concord, would render ſuch evils unſupportable: the ſlight inconveniencies of a rough road, bad weather, or homely fare, would become ſerious evils, and afflict the traveller paſt enduring. The French,

French, among whom ſociety has obtained a more refined poliſh than in any other nation, have become ſo ſoft and delicate as to loſe all fortitude in diſtreſs. They cannot bear even a repreſentation of ſevere affliction in a tragedy: an Engliſh audience would fall aſleep at the ſlight diſtreſſes that make a deep impreſſion in the French theatre.

But now ſuppoſing, that a ſcrupulous adherence to the rules of morality would be a real improvement in ſociety; yet to me it appears evident, that men as individuals would ſuffer more by that improvement, than they would gain as members of ſociety. In order to preſerve the rules of juſtice untainted, and to maintain perfect concord and affection among men, all diſſocial and ſelfiſh paſſions muſt neceſſarily be extirpated, or brought under abſolute ſubjection. Attend to the conſequences: they deſerve our moſt ſober attention. Agitation is requiſite to the mind as well as to the body: a man engaged in a briſk purſuit, whether of buſineſs or of pleaſure, is in his element, and in high ſpirits: but when no object is in view to be attained or to be avoided, his ſpirits flag, and he ſinks into languor and deſpondence. To prevent a condition ſo baneful to man, he is provided with many paſſions, which impel him to action without intermiſſion, and envigorate both mind and body. But upon the preſent ſuppoſition, ſcarce any motive to action would remain; and man, reduced to a lethargic ſtate, would rival no being above an oyſter or a ſenſitive plant.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that an uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and ſecurity, would not be long reliſhed. Conſtant repetition of the ſame pleaſures, would render even a golden age ta teleſs, like an Italian ſky during a long ſummer. Nature has for wiſe purpoſes impreſſed upon us a taſte for variety (*a*); and without it, life would be altogether inſipid. Paraguai, when govern-

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 320. edit. 5.

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ed by the Jeſuits, affords a fine illuſtration. It was divided into pariſhes, in each of which a Jeſuit preſided as king, prieſt, and prophet. The natives were not ſuffered to have any property, but laboured inceſſantly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public magazine. The men were employ'd in agriculture, the women in ſpinning; and certain preciſe hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for ſleep *. They ſunk into ſuch a liſtleſs ſtate of mind, as to have no regret at dying when attacked by diſeaſe or by old age. Such was their indifference about what might befall them, that tho' they adored the Jeſuits, yet they made no oppoſition, when the fathers were, ann. 1767, attacked by the Spaniards, and their famous republic demoliſhed. The monkiſh life is contradictory to the nature of man: the languor of that ſtate is what in all probability tempts many a monk and nun, to find occupation even at the expence of virtue. The life of the Malteſe knights is far from being agreeable, now that their knight-errantry againſt the Turks has ſubſided. While they reſide in the iſland, a ſtrict uniformity in their manner of living is horridly irkſome. Abſence is their only relief, when they can obtain permiſſion. There will not at laſt remain a knight in the iſland, except ſuch as by office are tied to attendance.

I proceed to another conſideration. Familiarity with danger is neceſſary to eradicate our natural timidity; and ſo deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one ſort, does not harden us with reſpect to any other ſort. A ſoldier, bold as a lion in the field, is

* Beſide Paraguai tea, for which there is great demand in Peru, cotton, tobacco, and ſugar-canes, were cultivated in Paraguai, and the product was ſtored up in magazines. No Indian durſt keep in his houſe ſo much as an ounce of any of theſe commodities, under pain of receiving twelve laſhes in honour of the twelve apoſtles, beſide faſting three days in the houſe of correction. The fathers ſeldom inflicted a capital puniſhment, becauſe it deprived them of a profitable ſlave.

faint-hearted

faint-hearted at ſea, like a child; and a ſeaman, who braves the winds and waves, trembles when mounted on a horſe of ſpirit. Courage does not ſuperabound at preſent, even in the midſt of dangers and unforeſeen accidents: ſedentary manufacturers, who ſeldom are in the way of harm, are remarkably puſillanimous. What would men be in the ſuppoſed condition of univerſal peace, concord, and ſecurity? they would rival a hare or a mouſe in timidity. Farewell, upon that ſuppoſition, to courage, magnanimity, heroiſm, and to every paſſion that ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themſelves in being ſecure againſt harm, would not be altogether averſe to ſuch degeneracy. But if ſuch men there be, I pray them only to reflect, that in the progreſs from infancy to maturity, all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived at the ſuppoſed perfection of ſociety, before another has advanced much beyond the ſavage ſtate. What ſecurity hath the former againſt the latter? Preciſely the ſame that timid ſheep have againſt hungry wolves.

I ſhall finiſh with one other effect of the ſuppoſed perfection of ſociety, more degrading, if poſſible, than any mentioned. Exerciſe, as obſerved above, is not leſs eſſential to the mind than to the body. The reaſoning faculty, for example, without conſtant and varied exerciſe, will remain weak and undiſtinguiſhing to the end of life. By what means doth a man acquire prudence and foreſight, but by practice? It is preciſely here as in the body: deprive a child of motion, and it will never acquire any ſtrength of limbs. The many difficulties that men encounter, and their various objects of purſuit, rouſe the underſtanding, and ſet the reaſoning faculty at work for means to accompliſh deſire. The mind, by continual exerciſe, ripens to its perfection; and, by the ſame means, is preſerved in vigour. It would have no ſuch exerciſe in the ſuppoſed perfection of ſociety; where there would be little to be deſired, and leſs to be dreaded: our mental faculties would

would for ever lie dormant; and we ſhould remain for ever ignorant that we have ſuch faculties. The people of Paraguai are deſcribed as mere children in underſtanding. What wonder, conſidering their condition under Jeſuit government, without ambition, without property, without fear of want, and without deſires? The wants of thoſe who inhabit the torrid zone are eaſily ſupplied: they need no cloathing, ſcarce any habitation; and fruits, which ripen there to perfection, give them food without labouring for it. Need we any other cauſe for their inferiority of underſtanding, compared with the inhabitants of other climates, where the mind, as well as body, are conſtantly at work for procuring neceſſaries * ?

That

* The bleſſings of eaſe and inaction are moſt poetically diſplay'd in the following deſcription. " O felix Lapo, qui in ultimo angulo mundi ſic bene lates, " contentus et innocens. Tu nec times annonæ charitatem, nec Martis prœlia, " quæ ad tuas oras pervenire nequeunt, ſed florentiſſimas Europæ provincias et " urbes, unico momento, ſæpe dejiciunt et delent. Tu dormis hic ſub tua pelle, " ab omnibus curis, contentionibus, rixis, liber, ignorans quid ſit invidia Tu " nulla noſti diſcrimina, niſi tonantis Jovis fulmina. Tu ducis innocentiſſimos " tuos annos ultra centenarium numerum, cum facili ſeneſtute et ſumma ſanitate. " Te latent myriades morborum nobis Europæis communes. Tu vivis in ſylvis, " avis inſtar, nec ſementem facis, nec metis; tamen alit te Deus optimus optime." *Linnæus, Flora Lapponica.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* " O happy Laplander, who, on the " utmoſt verge of habitable earth, thus liveſt obſcure in reſt, content, and inno- " cence. Thou feareſt not the ſcanty crop, nor ravages of war; and thoſe cala- " mities which waſte whole provinces and towns, can ne'er attain thy peaceful " ſhores. Wrapt in thy covering of fur, thou canſt ſecurely ſleep; a ſtranger to " each tumultuous care; unenvying and unenvied. Thou feareſt no danger, but " from the thunder of heaven. Thy harmleſs days ſlide on in innocence, beyond " the period of a century. Thy health is firm; and thy declining age is tran- " quil. Millions of diſeaſes which ravage the reſt of the world, have never reach- " ed thy happy climate. Thou liveſt as the birds of the wood, thou careſt not to " ſow nor reap, for bounteous Providence has ſupplied thee in all thy wants."

That curious writer Mandevil, who is always entertaining, if he does not always inſtruct, exults in maintaining a propoſition ſeemingly paradoxical, That private vices are public benefits. He proves indeed, moſt triumphantly, that theft produced locks and bars, and that war produced ſwords and guns. But what would have been his triumph, had he diſcovered, that ſelfiſh and diſſocial vices promote the moſt elevated virtues, and that if ſuch vices were eradicated, man would be a groveling and contemptible being?

How raſhly do men judge of the conduct of Providence! So flattering to the imagination is a golden age, a life of perpetual ſun-ſhine, as to have been a favourite topic among poets, ancient and modern. Impreſſed with the felicity of ſuch a ſtate, it is not eaſy to be ſatisfied with our condition in this life. Such a jumble of good and ill, malice mixed with benevolence, friendſhip alloy'd with fraud, peace with alarms of war, and frequent bloody wars,—can we avoid concluding, that in this unhappy world chance prevails more than wiſdom? What better cauſe can freethinkers wiſh for declaiming againſt Providence, while men better diſpoſed, ſigh inwardly, and muſt be ſilent *? But behold

—— So eloquent a panegyriſt upon the Lapland life, would make a capital figure upon an oyſter. No creature is freer from want, no creature freer from war, and probably no creature is freer from fear; which, alas! is not the caſe of the Laplander.

* L'homme qui ne peut que par le nombre, qui n'eſt fort que par ſa réunion, qui n'eſt heureux que par la paix, a la fureur de s'armer pour ſon malheur et de combattre pour ſa ruine. Excité par l'inſatiable avidité, aveuglé par l'ambition encore plus inſatiable, il renonce aux ſentiments d' humanité, cherche à s'entre-détruire, ſe détruit en effet; et après ces jours de ſang et de carnage, lorſque la fumée de la gloire s'eſt diſſipée, il voit d'un oeil triſte la terre dévaſtée, les arts enſevelies,

behold the blindneſs of men with reſpect to the diſpenſations of Providence! A golden age would to man be more poiſonous than

ſevelies, les nations diſperſées, les peuples affoiblis, ſon propre bonheur ruiné, et ſa puiſſance réelle anéantie.

" Grand Dieu! dont la ſeule préſence ſoutient la nature et maintient l'harmo-
" nie des loix de l'univers; Vous, qui du trône immobile de l'empirée, voyez
" rouler ſous vos pieds toutes les ſphéres céleſtes ſans choc et ſans confuſion; qui
" du ſein du repos, reproduiſez à chaque inſtant leurs mouvemens immenſes, et
" ſeul régiſſez dans une paix profonde ce nombre infini de cieux et de mondes;
" rendez, rendez enfin le calme à la terre agitée! Qu'elle ſoit dans le ſilence!
" Qu'à votre voix la diſcorde et la guerre ceſſent de faire retenter leurs clameurs
" orgueilleuſes! Dieu de bonté, auteur de tous les êtres, vos regards paternels
" embraſſent tous les objets de la création: mais l'homme eſt votre être de choix;
" vous avez éclairé ſon ame d'une rayon de votre lumiére immortelle; comblez
" vos bienfaits en pénétrant ſon cœur d'un trait de votre amour: ce ſentiment di-
" vin ſe répandant par-tout, réunira les natures ennemies; l'homme ne craindra
" plus l'aſpect de l'homme, le fer homicide n'armera plus ſa main; le feu dévo-
" rant de la guerre ne ſera plus tarir la ſource des générations; l'eſpéce humaine
" maintenant affoiblie, mutilée, moiſſonnée dans ſa fleur, germera de nouveau et
" ſe multipliera ſans nombre; la nature accablée ſous le poids de fléaux, ſtérile,
" abandonnée, reprendra bientôt avec une nouvelle vie ſon ancienne fécondité; et
" nous, Dieu Bienfaiteur, nous la ſeconderons, nous la cultiverons, nous l'obſer-
" verons ſans ceſſe pour vous offrir à chaque inſtant un nouveau tribut de recon-
" noiſſance et d'admiration." *Buffon Hiſtoire Naturelle, vol. 9. 8vo. edit.*

[*In Engliſh thus:* " Man who is powerful only by numbers, whoſe ſtrength conſiſts in the union of forces, and whoſe happineſs is to be found alone in a ſtate of peace, has yet the madneſs to take arms for his own miſery, and fight to the ruin of his ſpecies. Urged on by inſatiable avarice, and blinded by ambition ſtill more inſatiable, he baniſhes from his breaſt every ſentiment of humanity, and, eager for the deſtruction of his fellow-creatures, in effect deſtroys himſelf. When the days of blood and carnage are paſt, when the vapour of glory is diſſipated, he looks around with a ſorrowful eye upon the deſolated earth, he ſees the arts extinct, the nations diſperſed, and population dead: his happineſs is ruined, and his power is reduced to nothing.

" Great God! whoſe ſole preſence ſuſtains the creative power, and rules the

than Pandora's box; a gift, ſweet in the mouth, but bitter, bitter, in the ſtomach. Let us then forbear repining; for the ſubject before us muſt afford conviction, if any thing can, that our beſt courſe is to ſubmit humbly to whatever befals, and to reſt ſatisfied, that the world is governed by wiſdom, not by chance. What can be expected of barbarians, but utter ignorance of Providence, and of divine government? But as men ripen in the knowledge of cauſes and effects, the benevolence as well as wiſdom of a ſuperintending Being become more and more apparent. How pleaſant is that obſervation! Beautiful final cauſes without

" harmony of nature's laws! who from thy permanent celeſtial throne beholdeſt " the motion of the nether ſpheres, all-perfect in their courſe which knows no " change; who broughteſt from out the womb of reſt by endleſs reproduction " thoſe never-ceaſing movements; who ruleſt in peace the infinity of worlds: E- " ternal God! vouchſafe at length to ſend a portion of that heavenly peace to " calm the agitated earth. Let every tumult ceaſe: at thy celeſtial voice, no more " be heard around the proud and clamorous ſhouts of war and diſcord. All- " bounteous Creator! Author of being! each object of thy works partakes of thy " paternal care; but chief of all, thy choſen creature man. Thou haſt beſtowed " on him a ray of thine immortal light: O deign to crown that gift, by penetrating " his heart with a portion of thy love. Soon will that heavenly ſentiment, perva- " ding his nature, reconcile each warring and contradictory principle: man will " no longer dread the ſight of man: the murdering blade will ſleep within its " ſheath: the fire of war will ceaſe to dry up the ſprings of generation: the hu- " man race, now languiſhing and withering in the bloom, will bud afreſh, and " multiply: nature, which now ſinks beneath the ſcourge of miſery, ſterile and " deſolated, will ſoon renew her waſted ſtrength, and regain her firſt fertility. " We, O God of benevolence, we thy creatures will ſecond the bleſſing. It will " be ours to beſtow on the earth that culture which beſt can aid her fruitfulneſs; " and we will pay to thee the moſt acceptable of ſacrifices, in endleſs gratitude and " adoration."

How natural is this prayer; how unnatural the ſtate thus anxiouſly requeſted! M. Buffon's devotional fits are fervent: pity it is, that they are not better d[illegible]

number

number have been diſcovered in the material as well as moral world, with reſpect to many particulars that once appeared dark and gloomy. Many continue to have that appearance: but with reſpect to theſe, is it too bold to maintain, that an argument from ignorance, a ſlender argument at any rate, is altogether inſufficient in judging of divine government? How ſalutary is it for man, and how comfortable, to reſt on the faith, that whatever is, is the beſt!

SKETCH

SKETCH II.

General View of GOVERNMENT.

THE progreſs of government, accurately delineated, would produce a great volume: in this work there is room but for a few hints. What are the means that fit men for ſociety, is explained above; but writers are far from being unanimous about the means that fit them for government. All agree, that ſubmiſſion to our governors is a duty: but they appear to be at a loſs upon what foundation to reſt that duty; as if it were not evident, that by our nature we are fitted for government as well as for ſociety (*a*). If juſtice or veracity be eſſential to ſociety, ſubmiſſion to government is no leſs ſo; and each of theſe equally is declared by the moral ſenſe to be our duty. But to qualify man for government, the duty of ſubmiſſion alone is not ſufficient: diverſity of temper and of talents are alſo neceſſary; and accordingly it is ſo ordered by Providence, that there are never wanting in any ſociety men who are qualified to lead, as well as men who are diſpoſed to follow. Where a number of people convene for any purpoſe, ſome will naturally aſſume authority without the formality of election, and the reſt will as naturally ſubmit. A regular government, founded on laws, was probably not thought of, till people had frequently ſuffered by vicious governors *.

During

(*a*) Principles of Equity, p. 177, edit. 2.

* At firſt, when a certain regimen was once approved, it may be that all was permitted

During the infancy of national ſocieties, government is extremely ſimple; and no leſs mild than ſimple. No individual is by nature intitled to exerciſe magiſterial authority over his fellows; for no individual is born with any mark of pre-eminence to vouch that he has ſuch a privilege. But nature teaches reſpect for men of age and experience; who accordingly take the lead in deliberating and adviſing, leaving execution to the young and vigorous *. War indeed cannot be carried on without a commander; but originally his authority was limited to actual war; and he returned home a private perſon, even when crowned with victory. The wants of men were originally ſo few, and ſo eaſily ſatisfied, as ſeldom to occaſion a controverſy among members of the ſame tribe. And men, finding vent for their diſſocial paſſions againſt other tribes, were fond to live peaceably at home. Introduction of money made an amazing change. Wealth beſtow'd by fortune, or procured by rapine, made an impreſſion on the vulgar: different ranks were recogniſed: the rich became imperious, and the poor mutinous. Selfiſhneſs, prevailing over ſocial affection, ſtirred up every man againſt his neighbour; and

permitted to the wiſdom and diſcretion of thoſe who were to rule; till by experience this was found very inconvenient, ſo as the thing deviſed for a remedy did increaſe the ſore which it ſhould have cured. They ſaw, "that to live by one "man's will, became the cauſe of all mens miſery." This conſtrained them to come into laws, wherein all men might ſee their duty beforehand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol. l.* 1. § 10.

* Such as are acquainted with no manners but what are modern, will be puzzled to account for the great veneration paid to old age in early times. Before writing was invented, old men were the repoſitories of knowledge, which they acquired by experience; and young men had no acceſs to knowledge but from them. At the ſiege of Troy, Neſtor, who had ſeen three generations, was the chief adviſer and director of the Greeks. But as books are now the moſt patent road to knowledge, to which the old and young have acceſs, it may juſtly be obſerved, that by the invention of writing and printing, old men have loſt much of their priſtine importance.

men,

men, overlooking their natural enemies, gave vent to diſſocial paſſions within their own tribe. It became neceſſary to ſtrengthen the hands of the ſovereign, for repreſſing paſſions inflamed by opulence, which tend to a diſſolution of ſociety. This ſlight view fairly accounts for the gradual progreſs of government from the mildeſt form to the moſt deſpotic. The ſecond part of the progreſs is more pleaſing. Men long enured to the authority of government, acquire a habit of repreſſing their turbulent paſſions; and becoming by degrees regular and orderly, they are eaſily reſtrained from doing wrong.

During the infancy of a ſociety, puniſhments muſt be mild; becauſe government has no ſufficient authority over the minds of men to enforce what are ſevere. But government in time acquires authority; and when its authority is firmly rooted in the minds of the people, puniſhments more rigorous can be made effectual; and ſuch puniſhments are neceſſary among a people not yet well diſciplined. When men at laſt become regular and orderly under a ſteady adminiſtration, puniſhments become leſs and leſs neceſſary, and the mildeſt are ſufficient (*a*). The Chineſe government is extremely mild, and its puniſhments are in the ſame tone. A capital puniſhment is never inflicted, till the ſentence be examined by a ſovereign court, and approved by the Emperor. Thus government, after paſſing through all the intermediate degrees from extreme mildneſs to extreme ſeverity, returns at laſt to its original temper of mildneſs and humanity *.

* An ingenious writer obſerves, that as our American ſettlements are now ſo proſperous, baniſhment to theſe ſettlements is ſcarce a puniſhment. He therefore propoſes, that criminals be tranſported to Hudſon's bay, or to ſome other uncultivated country. My doubt is, that in proportion as manners improve, the ſeverity of puniſhment ought to be mitigated. Perhaps, the tranſportation to any of our American colonies, tho' leſs dreadful than formerly, may however be now a ſufficient puniſhment for theft, or other crime of no deeper dye.

(*a*) Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract 1.

SKETCH

SKETCH III.

Different FORMS OF GOVERNMENT compared.

OF all governments, democracy is the moſt turbulent: deſpotiſm, which benumbs the mental faculties, and relaxes every ſpring of action, is in the oppoſite extreme. Mixed governments, whether monarchical or republican, ſtand in the middle: they promote activity, but ſeldom any dangerous exceſs.

Pure democracy, like that of Athens, Argos, and Carthage, is the very worſt form of government, if we make not deſpotiſm an exception. The people, in whom reſides the ſovereign power, are inſolent in proſperity, timid in adverſity, cruel in anger, blind and prodigal in affection, and incapable of embracing ſteadily a prudent meaſure. Thucydides relates (*a*), that Agis with a gallant army of Spartans ſurrounded the army of Argos; and, tho' ſecure of victory, ſuffered them to retreat, upon ſolemn aſſurances from Thraſyllus, the Argian general, of terminating all differences in an amicable treaty. Agis, perhaps juſtly, was bitterly cenſured for ſuffering victory to ſlip out of his hands: but the Argians, dreaming of victory when the danger was over, brought their general to trial, confiſcated his effects, and would have ſtoned him to death, had he not taken refuge in a temple. Two Athenian generals, after one naval victory, being intent on a ſecond, deputed Theramenes to perform

(*a*) Lib. 5.

the laſt duty to their dead. A violent ſtorm prevented Theramenes from executing the truſt repoſed in him; but it did not prevent the people of Athens from putting their two generals to death, as if they had neglected their duty. The fate of Socrates is a ſad inſtance, of the changeable, as well as violent, diſpoſition of a democratical ſtate. He was condemned to death, for attempting innovations in the eſtabliſhed religion: the ſentence was groſsly unjuſt; for he attempted no innovation; but only, among his friends, expreſſed purer notions of the Deity than were common in Greece at that time. But his funeral obſequies were ſcarce ended, when bitter remorſe ſeized the people. His accuſers were put to death without trial, every perſon baniſhed who had contributed to the ſentence pronounced againſt him, and his ſtatue was erected in the moſt public part of the city. The great Scipio, in his camp near Utica, was ſurrounded with three Carthaginian armies, which waited only for day-light to fall upon him. He prevented the impending blow, by ſurpriſing them in the dead of night; which gave him a complete victory. This misfortune, for it could ſcarce be called bad conduct, provoked the democracy of Carthage, to pronounce ſentence of death againſt Aſdrubal their general. Great trading towns cannot flouriſh, if they be not faithful to their engagements, and honeſt in their dealings: Whence then the *fides Punica?* A democracy is in its nature raſh, violent, and fluctuating; and the Carthaginians merited the reproach, not as individuals, but as a democratical ſtate.

A commonwealth governed by the beſt citizens, is very different from a democracy, where the mob rules. At the ſame time, the ſolid foundation of ſuch a commonwealth, is equality among the citizens. Inequality of riches cannot be prevented in a commercial ſtate; but inequality of privileges may be prevented, by excluding no citizen from the opportunity of commanding as well as of obeying. The invidious diſtinction of Patrician and Plebeian

was

was a groſs malady in the Roman republic, a perpetual ſource of diſſenſion between two bodies of men, equally well born, equally rich, and equally fit for war. This ill-poiſed government would have put an end to the republic, had not the Plebeians prevailed, who were the more numerous. That reformation produced to Rome plenty of able men, qualified to govern whether in peace or in war.

A commonwealth is the beſt form of government for a ſmall ſtate: there is little room for inequality of rank or of property; and the people can act in a body. Monarchy is preferable for a large ſtate, where the people, widely ſpread, cannot be eaſily collected into a body. Attica was a kingdom, while its twelve cantons were remote from each other, and but ſlenderly connected. Theſeus, by collecting the people of figure into the city of Athens, and by a general aſſembly of all the cantons held there, fitted Attica to be a commonwealth.

When a nation becomes great and populous, it is ill fitted for being a commonwealth. Ambition is apt to trample upon juſtice; ſelfiſhneſs upon patriotiſm; and the public is ſacrificed to private views. To prevent corruption from turning incurable, the only remedy is a ſtrict rotation in office, which ought never to be diſpenſed with on any pretext *. By ſuch rotation, every citizen in his turn governs and is governed: the higheſt office is limited as to time, and the greateſt men in the ſtate muſt ſubmit to the ſacred law of obeying as well as of commanding. A man long accuſtomed to power, is not happy in a private ſtation: that corrupting habit is prevented by an alternate ſucceſſion of public and

* A commonwealth with ſuch a rotation may be aptly compared to a group of jets d'eau, riſing one above another in beautiful order, and preſerving the ſame order in deſcending: the form of the group continues invariable, but the forming parts are always changing.

private life; which is more agreeable by variety, and contributes no leſs to virtue than to happineſs. It was that form of government in ancient Rome, which produced citizens without number, illuſtrious for virtue and talents. Reflect upon Cincinnatus, eminent among heroes for diſintereſted love to his country. Had he been a Briton, a ſeat in parliament would have gratified his ambition, as affording the beſt opportunity of ſerving his country. In parliament he joins the party that appears the moſt zealous for the public. Being deceived in his friends, patriots in name only not in reality, he goes over to the court; and after fighting the battles of the miniſtry for years, he is compelled by a ſhattered fortune to accept a poſt or a penſion. Fortunate Cincinnatus! born at a time and in a country where virtue was the paſſport to power and glory. Cincinnatus, after ſerving with honour and reputation as chief magiſtrate, cheerfully retired to a private ſtation, in obedience to the laws of his country: nor was that change a hardſhip on a man who was not corrupted by a long habit of power.

Political writers define a free ſtate to be, where the people are governed by laws of their own making. This definition is lame; for laws made by the people are not always juſt. There were many unjuſt laws enacted in Athens during the democratical government; and in Britain inſtances are not wanting of laws, not only unjuſt, but oppreſſive. The true definition of a free ſtate, is, where the legiſlature adheres ſtrictly to the laws of nature; and calculates every one of its regulations for improving ſociety, and for promoting induſtry and honeſty among the people. If that definition be juſt, deſpotiſm is the wōrſt ſpecies of government; being contrived to ſupport arbitrary will in the ſovereign, without regarding the laws of nature, or the good of ſociety. The lawleſs cruelty of a King of Perſia, is painted to the life by a ſingle expreſſion of a Perſian grandee, "That every time he left the King's apartment,

" apartment, he was inclined to feel with his hand whether his " head was on his ſhoulders." In the Ruſſian empire, men approach the throne with terror: the ſlighteſt political intrigue is a ſufficient foundation for baniſhing the greateſt nobleman to Siberia, and for confiſcating his eſtate. The laws of that empire ſmell no leſs rank of ſlavery than of oppreſſion. No perſon dares game with money that bears the impreſſion of the preſent ſovereign: a man going along the ſtreet that fronts the Emperor's apartment, muſt pull off his hat; and it is a heinous treſpaſs to write a letter with the Emperor's name in ſmall characters. Deſpotiſm is every where the ſame: it was high treaſon to ſell a ſtatue of a Roman Emperor; and it was doubted, whether it was not high treaſon, to hit an Emperor's ſtatue with a ſtone thrown at random (*a*). When Eliſabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia was on deathbed, no perſon durſt enquire about her; and even after her death, it was not at firſt ſafe to ſpeak of it. The deep ſilence of the Ruſſians upon matters of government, ariſes from the encouragement given to accuſations of treaſon. The byſtanders muſt lay hold of the perſon accuſed: a father arreſts his ſon, a ſon his father, and nature ſuffers in ſilence. The accuſed with the accuſer are hurried to priſon, there to remain till they be tried in the ſecret court of chancery. That court, compoſed of a few miniſters named by the Emperor, have the lives and fortunes of all at their mercy. The nobility, ſlaves to the crown, are prone to retaliate upon their inferiors. They impoſe taxes at pleaſure upon their vaſſals, and frequently ſeize all at ſhort hand *.

Servility

(*a*) l. 5. ad legem Juliam Majeſtatis.

* The following incident is a ſtriking example of the violence of paſſion, indulged in a deſpotic government, where men in power are under no control. Thomas Pereyra, a Portugueſe general, having aſſiſted the King of Pegu in a danger-

ous

Servility and depreſſion of mind in the ſubjects of a deſpotic government, cannot be better marked than in the funeral rites of a Roman Emperor, deſcribed by Herodian (*a*). The body being burnt privately, a waxen image repreſenting the Emperor is laid in a bed of ſtate. On the one ſide ſit the ſenators ſeveral hours daily, clothed in black; and on the other, the moſt reſpectable matrons, clothed in white. The ceremony laſts ſeven days, during which the phyſicians from time to time approach the bed, and declare the Emperor to be worſe and worſe. When the day comes of declaring him dead, the moſt dignified of the nobility carry the bed upon their ſhoulders, and place it in the old forum, where the Roman magiſtrates formerly laid down their office. Then begin doleful ditties, ſung to his memory by boys and women. Theſe being ended, the bed is carried to the *Campus Martius*, and there burnt upon a high ſtage with great ſolemnity. When the flames aſcend, an eagle is let looſe, which is ſuppoſed to carry the ſoul of the Emperor to heaven. Is that farce leſs ridiculous than a puppet-ſhew? Is it not much more ridiculous? Dull muſt have been the ſpectator who could behold the ſolemnity without ſmiling at leaſt, if not laughing outright; but the Romans were cruſhed by deſpotiſm, and nothing could provoke them to laugh. That ridiculous farce continued to be acted till the time of Conſtantine: how much later, I know not.

ous war with his neighbour of Siam, was a prime favourite at court, having elephants of ſtate, and a guard of his own countrymen. One day coming from court mounted on an elephant, and hearing muſic in a houſe where a marriage was celebrating between a daughter of the family and her lover, he went into the houſe, and deſired to ſee the bride. The parents took the viſit for a great honour, and cheerfully preſented her. He was inſtantly ſmit with her beauty, ordered his guards to ſeize her, and to carry her to his palace. The bridegroom, as little able to bear the affront as to revenge it, cut his own throat.

(*a*) Lib. 4.

The

The fineſt countries have been depopulated by deſpotiſm; witneſs Greece, Egypt, and the Leſſer Aſia. The river Menam, in the kingdom of Siam, overflows annually like the Nile, depoſiting a quantity of ſlime, which proves a rich manure. The river ſeems to riſe gradually as the rice grows; and retires to its channel when the rice, approaching to maturity, needs no longer to be watered. Nature beſide has beſtow'd on that rich country variety of delicious fruits, requiring ſcarce any culture. In ſuch a paradiſe, would one imagine that the Siamites are a miſerable people? The government is deſpotic, and the ſubjects are ſlaves: they muſt work for their monarch ſix months every year, without wages, and even without receiving any food from him. What renders them ſtill more miſerable, is, that they have no protection either for their perſons or their goods: the grandees are expoſed to the rapacity of the King and his courtiers; and the lower ranks are expoſed to the rapacity of the grandees. When a man has the misfortune to poſſeſs a tree remarkable for good fruit, he is required in the name of the King, or of a courtier, to preſerve the fruit for their uſe. Every proprietor of a garden in the neighbourhood of the capital, muſt pay a yearly ſum to the keeper of the elephants; otherwiſe it will be laid waſte by theſe animals, whom it is high treaſon to moleſt. From the ſea-port of Mergui to the capital, one travels ten or twelve days, through immenſe plains of a rich ſoil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated, and left to tigers and elephants. Formerly, an immenſe commerce was carried on in that fertile country: hiſtorians atteſt, that in the middle of the ſixteenth century above a thouſand foreign ſhips frequented its ports annually. But the King, tempted with ſo much riches, endeavoured to engroſs all the commerce of his country; by which means he annihilated ſucceſſively mines, manufactures, and even agriculture. The country is depopulated, and

and few remain there but beggars. In the iſland Ceylon, the King is ſole proprietor of the land; and the people are ſupinely indolent: their huts are mean, without any thing like furniture: their food is fruit that grows ſpontaneouſly; and their covering is a piece of coarſe cloth, wrapped round the middle. The ſettlement of the Dutch Eaſt-India company at the Cape of Good Hope, is profitable to them in their commerce with the Eaſt Indies; and it would be much more profitable, if they gave proper encouragement to the tenants and poſſeſſors of their lands. But theſe poor people are ruled with a rod of iron: what the company wants, is extorted from them at ſo low a price, as ſcarce to afford them common neceſſaries. Avarice, like many other irregular paſſions, obſtructs its own gratification: were induſtry duly encouraged, the product of the ground would be in greater plenty, and goods be afforded voluntarily at a lower price than they are at preſent obtained by violence. The Peruvians are a ſad example of the effects of tyranny; being reduced to a ſtate of ſtupid inſenſibility. No motive to action influences them; neither riches, nor luxury, nor ambition: they are even indifferent about life. The ſingle pleaſure they feel, is to get drunk, in order to forget their miſery. The provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Beſſarabia, ſituated between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, are defended on three ſides by the Nieſter, the Black ſea, and the Danube. The climate of that region, and the fertility of its ſoil, render it not inferior to any other country in Europe. Its paſtures in particular are excellent, producing admirable horſes, with an incredible number of ſheep and horned cattle; and its induſtrial fruits, ſuch as corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, were formerly produced in great plenty. So populous was that region a few centuries ago, that the Prince of Walachia was able, in that province alone, to raiſe an army of ſeventy thouſand men. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe advantanges, the wretched policy of the Turkiſh government has

has reduced theſe provinces to be almoſt a deſert. A deſpotic government ſtifles in the birth all the bounties of nature, and renders the fineſt ſpots of the globe equally ſterile with its barren mountains. When a patriotic king travels about to viſit his dominions, he is received with acclamations of joy. A deſpotic prince dares not hope for ſuch reception: he is locked up in his ſeraglio, ignorant of what paſſes; and indolently ſuffers his people to be pillaged, without even hearing of their diſtreſſes.

At the ſame time, deſpotiſm, tho' calculated to elevate the ſovereign above the rules of juſtice, and to make him the only free perſon in his dominions, tends above all other governments to render him inſecure. He becomes odious by oppreſſion; and every hand would be raiſed againſt him, but for the reſtraint of fear. A ſituation ſo tickliſh, lays him open to every bold ſpirit, prompted by revenge to ſeek his ruin, or by ambition to uſurp his throne. In that reſpect, Ruſſia and Turky are preciſely ſimilar: conſpiracies againſt the ſovereign are equally frequent, and equally ſucceſsful. The moment an uſurper ſeizes the palace, all obſtructions vaniſh: all proſtrate themſelves before the throne, without enquiring about the poſſeſſor's title. In that manner was the preſent Empreſs of Ruſſia eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding a very unfavourable circumſtance, that of dethroning her own huſband Peter III. No free ſpirit regrets ſuch events in a deſpotic government: the only thing to be regretted is, that they concern the monarch only; not the people, who remain abject ſlaves as formerly. The preſent Empreſs, ſenſible of her precarious ſituation, is intent to humanize her people, and to moderate the deſpotiſm. In that view, ſhe has publiſhed a code of laws fit for a limited monarchy, and expreſſing great regard to the lives, liberties, and property, of her ſubjects.

But a monarchy, with all the moderation that deſpotiſm can

admit, is inconſiſtent with liberty of the preſs. Political pamphlets, and even news-papers, are no leſs uſeful for inſtructing the King, than for ſecuring his ſubjects. In France, the miniſtry are deprived of that means of acquiring knowledge; and are reduced to the neceſſity of truſting to inſinuating men, who cunningly creep into favour, with a view to their own intereſt. After the late peace 1763, that miniſtry formed a plan for eſtabliſhing a colony in Guiana; and no fewer than twelve thouſand perſons were landed there all at one time. But ſo groſsly ignorant were they of the preparations neceſſary for planting a colony in the torrid zone, that contagious diſeaſes, occaſioned by unwholeſome food, and want of accommodation, left not a ſingle perſon alive. This could not have happened in England: every article of management would have been canvaſſed, and light would have broke in from every quarter.

I have inſiſted longer upon the deplorable effects of deſpotiſm than perhaps is neceſſary; but I was fond of the opportunity to juſtify, or rather applaud, the ſpirit of liberty ſo eminent in the inhabitants of Britain. I now proceed to compare different forms of government, with reſpect to various particulars; beginning with patriotiſm. Every form of government muſt be good that inſpires patriotiſm; and the beſt form to envigorate that noble paſſion, is a commonwealth founded on rotation of power, where it is the ſtudy of thoſe in office, to do good, and to merit approbation from their fellow-citizens. In the Swiſs Cantons, the ſalaries of magiſtrates and public officers, are ſcarce ſufficient to defray their expences; and thoſe worthy perſons deſire no other recompenſe, but to be eſteemed and honoured *. A republic ſo modelled,

* No human work can be everlaſting. The ſeventy-two bailiages of the extenſive canton of Bern, threaten ruin to the republic. Thoſe lucrative offices, which the

modelled, inſpires virtues of every ſort. The people of Switzerland ſeldom think of a writing to confirm a bargain: a law-ſuit is ſcarce known among them; and many there are who have never heard of an advocate nor of an attorney. Their doors are never ſhut but in winter. It is patriotiſm that Monteſquieu has in view, when he pronounces virtue to be the leading principle in a republic. He has reaſon to term it ſo, becauſe patriotiſm is connected with every ſocial virtue; and when it vaniſhes, men regard themſelves only, not their fellow-citizens. Democracy will never be recommended by any enlightened politician, as a good form of government; were it for no other reaſon, but that patriotiſm cannot long ſubſiſt where the mob governs. In monarchy, the King is exalted ſo high above his ſubjects, that his miniſters are little better than ſervants. Such condition is not friendly to patriotiſm: it is as little friendly to ambition; for miniſters are ſtill ſervants, however much raiſed above other ſubjects. Wealth being the only remaining purſuit, promotes avarice to be their ruling paſſion. Now if patriotiſm be not found in miniſters, who have power, far leſs in men who have no power; and thus in monarchy, riches are preferred before virtue, and every vitious offspring of avarice has free courſe.

Without piercing to the foundation, one can have no juſt notion of the various forms that government aſſumes in different ſtates. Monarchy is of many different kinds, and ſo is a repu-

the great council appropriates to its own members, occaſion a conſtant influx of riches into the capital. Patriotiſm is obſerved of late years to be on the decline among the citizens of Bern; and no wonder, conſidering that luxury and ſelfiſhneſs are the never-failing offspring of opulence. When ſelfiſhneſs becomes the ruling paſſion of that people, thoſe in power will pilfer the public treaſure, which is immenſe, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the republic. Confuſion and anarchy muſt enſue, and the ſtate will ſettle in a monarchy, or more probably in an odious democracy.

blic. Rome and Carthage, the two great rival republics of ancient times, differed widely in their original conſtitution. Much has been ſaid of theſe republics by hiſtorians and political writers. There is one point of compariſon, that will ſet in a clear light the difference of their conſtitutions, with reſpect to peace and war. Carthage, advantageouſly ſituated for commerce, became a great and flouriſhing trading town. The Carthaginians having no object but riches, admitted none into a participation of their privileges. War was againſt their genius: but conqueſt was not, if it produced wealth; and therefore they made war in order to load their new ſubjects with taxes. Rome, on the contrary, was ill ſituated for commerce: its inhabitants were from the beginning employed in war, either defenſive or offenſive. Their great object accordingly was power; to which end, they were always diſpoſed to adopt as citizens the beſt of thoſe they conquered. Thus Rome became a city of warriors, Carthage of merchants. The ſubjects of the latter were always ripe for a revolt, while the ſubjects of the former were always faithful. Between two ſuch ſtates, there could be no equality in war; and had the Carthaginians been as ſkilful in politics as they were in commerce, they would have avoided, with the ſtricteſt circumſpection, every occaſion of quarrel with the Romans. Rome employ'd its own citizens in war: Carthage had none to employ but mercenaries. In an offenſive war, the object of the latter was riches; that of the former was power and glory, motives much ſuperior, and more animating. In a defenſive war, the difference is infinite between mercenaries, who have no intereſt but to receive their pay, and citizens, who fight for their country, and for their wives and children. What then are we to think of Hannibal, who, reverſing the laws of nature, carried on war againſt the Romans with an army of mercenaries, was ſucceſsful in every engagement, and brought them to the very brink of ruin? He certainly was the greateſt

greateſt General the world ever ſaw. If any one is to be excepted, it is the preſent King of Pruſſia.

I next compare different forms of government, with reſpect to the influence of opulence. Riches, which, joined with ambition, produce bold attempts for power, are however not dangerous in monarchy, where the ſovereign is ſo far ſuperior, as to humble to the duſt the moſt aſpiring of his ſubjects. But riches, joined with ambition, are dangerous in a republic: ambition will ſuggeſt the poſſibility of ſowing diſſenſion among the leaders; riches will make the attempt ſucceſsful; and then adieu to the republic. Wealth, accumulated by commerce in Carthage and in Athens, extinguiſhed patriotiſm, and rendered their democracy unjuſt, violent, and tyrannical. It had another bad effect; which was, to make them ambitious of conqueſt. The ſage Plutarch charges Themiſtocles with the ruin of Athens. "That great man," ſays he, "inſpired his countrymen with deſire of naval power. That "power produced extenſive commerce, and conſequently riches: "riches again, beſide luxury, inſpired the Athenians with a high "opinion of their power, and made them raſhly engage in every "quarrel among their neighbours." Suppreſs the names, and one will believe it to be a cenſure on the conduct of Britain. Succeſsful commerce prompted the Carthaginians, againſt their natural intereſt, to make war for gain. Had they been ſucceſsful againſt the Romans, both nations would have fallen a ſacrifice to the ambition of Hannibal: after ſubduing Italy, what Carthaginian durſt have oppoſed that glorious conqueror, returning with a victorious army, devoted to his will? That event was long dreaded by Hanno, and the wiſer part of the Carthaginian ſenate; and hence their ſcanty ſupplies to Hannibal. But what is only a ſuppoſition with reſpect to Carthage, proved to be the fate of Rome. Inequality of rank, opulence, and luxury, relaxed every fundamental principle of the commonwealth, particularly rotation of

of power, which ought to have been their palladium. Conqueſt at a diſtance, led them unwarily, in ſome inſtances, to ſuſpend that fundamental law; of which Cæſar availed himſelf in his Gallic war, by debauching from their duty the beſt diſciplined army of the republic: and it was that army, under a leader little inferior to Hannibal, which determined the fate of Rome.

A ſtate with a ſmall territory, ſuch as Hamburgh or Holland, may ſubſiſt long as a commonwealth, without much hazard from the opulence of individuals. But an extenſive territory in the hands of a few opulent proprietors, is dangerous in a commonwealth; becauſe of their influence over numbers who depend on them for bread. The iſland of Britain is too large for a commonwealth. This occurred to a profound political writer (*a*) who does honour to his country; and to remedy the evil, he propoſes an Agrarian law. But it is vain to think, that accumulation of land can be prevented by an Agrarian law: a truſt-deed is a ready ſcreen for covering accumulation beyond law: and dark tranſactions will be carried on without end; ſimilar to what is practiſed, moſt diſhoneſtly, by thoſe who elect and are elected members of parliament. When ſuch comes to be the condition of land-property, the Agrarian law will be ripe for diſſolution.

In early times, we diſcover greater variety of character than at preſent; among ſovereigns eſpecially, who are not taught to govern their paſſions. Peruſing the hiſtory of Spain in particular, one is ſtruck with an amazing variety of character in the Mooriſh Kings. In ſome of them, outrageous cruelty; in others, mildneſs, and affection for their people: in ſome, unbounded ambition, ſurmounting every obſtacle of juſtice and humanity; in others, ſtrict attention to commerce and to every moral virtue; ſome heaping up treaſure; ſome ſquandering all upon voluptuouſneſs;

(*a*) Harrington.

ſome

ſome cultivating peace; ſome fond of war. During the nonage of ſociety, men exert their natural bias without reſerve: in the progreſs of ſociety, they are taught to moderate their turbulent paſſions: at laſt mild and courtly behaviour, produced by education and imitation, give an air to men of figure as if they were all copies from one original; which is peculiarly the caſe in France. The mildneſs of external behaviour, muſt have a conſiderable influence on the internal part; for nothing tends more to ſoften or to ſuppreſs a paſſion, than never to give it vent; and for that reaſon, abſolute monarchy in France is far from being ſo dreadful as it was formerly. It is at preſent far from being violent or ſanguinary; the manners of the people having the ſame influence there, that laws have in a free country. The King, delicate with reſpect to his conduct, and dreading the cenſure of the world, is guilty of few exceſſes; and the people, tame and ſubmiſſive, are eaſily kept in order. Among men of rank, to be diſcharged the court, or to be relegated to their country-ſeats, is more terrible than a capital puniſhment.

We finiſh this ſhort eſſay with a compariſon of different governments as to the execution of laws. Laws relative to property and pecuniary intereſt, are every where preſerved in vigour, becauſe the violation of them hurts many. Laws reſpecting the public, are kept alive in monarchical governments; becauſe the King, to whom execution of law is intruſted, ſeldom benefits by their tranſgreſſion. For a ſteady execution of ſuch laws, a democracy has nothing to rely on but patriotiſm; and when that ſubſides, ſuch laws fall aſleep. The reaſon is, that the powers both of legiſlation and execution center in the people; and a multitude, frequently no better than a mob, will never with conſtancy direct execution againſt themſelves.

SKETCH

SKETCH IV.

PROGRESS OF STATES from ſmall to great, and from great to ſmall.

WHen tribes, originally ſmall, ſpread wider and wider by population till they become neighbours, the ſlighteſt differences enflame mutual averſion, and inſtigate hoſtilities that never end. Weak tribes unite for defence againſt the powerful, and become inſenſibly one people: other tribes are ſwallow'd up by conqueſt. And thus ſtates become more and more extenſive, till they are confined by ſeas or mountains. Spain originally contained many ſmall ſtates, which were all brought under the Roman yoke. In later times, it was again poſſeſſed by many ſtates, Chriſtian and Mahometan, continually at war, till by conqueſt they were united in one great kingdom. Portugal ſtill maintains its independency, a bleſſing it owes to the weakneſs of Spain, not to advantage of ſituation. The ſmall ſtates of Italy were ſubdued by the Romans; and thoſe of Greece by Philip of Macedon, and his ſon Alexander. Scotland eſcaped narrowly the paws of Edward I. of England; and would at laſt have been conquered by its more potent neighbour, had not conqueſt been prevented by a federal union.

But at that rate, have we not reaſon to dread the union of all nations under one univerſal monarch? There are ſeveral cauſes that for ever will prevent a calamity ſo dreadful. The local ſituation

tion of ſome countries, defended by ſtrong natural barriers, is one of theſe. Britain is defended by the ſea; and ſo is Spain, except where divided from France by the Pyrenean mountains. Europe in general, by many barriers of ſeas, rivers, and mountains, is fitted for ſtates of moderate extent: not ſo Aſia, which being divided into very large portions, is prepared by nature for extenſive monarchies *. Ruſſia is the only exception in Europe; a weak kingdom by ſituation, tho' rendered formidable by the extraordinary talents of one man, and of more than one woman.

A ſecond cauſe is the weakneſs of a great ſtate. The ſtrength of a ſtate doth not increaſe with its bulk, more than that of a man. An overgrown empire, far from being formidable to its neighbours, falls to pieces by its weight and unwieldyneſs. Its frontiers are not eaſily guarded: witneſs France, which is much weakened by that circumſtance, tho' its greater part is bounded by the ſea. Patriotiſm vaniſhes in a great monarchy: the provinces have no mutual connection; and the diſtant provinces, which muſt be governed by baſhaws, are always ripe for a revolt. To ſecure Nicomedia, which had frequently ſuffered by fire, Pliny ſuggeſted to the Emperor Trajan, a fire-company of one hundred

* En Aſie on a toujours vu de grands empires; en Europe ils n'ont jamais pu ſubſiſter. C'eſt que l'Aſie que nous connoiſſons a de plus grandes plaines: elle eſt coupée en plus grands morceaux par les montagnes et les mers; et comme elle eſt plus au midi, les ſources y ſont plus aiſement taries, les montagnes y ſont moins couvertes des nieges, et les fleuves, moins groſſis, y forment des moindres barriers. *L'Eſprit des Loix, liv.* 17. *c.* 6. — [*In Engliſh thus:* "In Aſia there have always been "great empires: ſuch could never ſubſiſt in Europe. The reaſon is, that in Aſia "there are larger plains, and it is cut by mountains and ſeas into more extenſive "diviſions: as it lies more to the ſouth, its ſprings are more eaſily dried up, "the mountains are leſs covered with ſnow, and the rivers proportionally ſmaller "form leſs conſiderable barriers."

and fifty men. So infirm at that period was the Roman empire, that Trajan durſt not put the project in execution, fearing diſturbances even from that ſmall body.

The chief cauſe is the luxury and effeminacy of a great monarchy, which leave no appetite for war, either in the ſovereign or in his ſubjects. Great inequality of rank in an extenſive kingdom, occaſioned by a conſtant flow of riches into the capital, introduces ſhow, expenſive living, luxury, and ſenſuality. Riches, by affording gratification to every ſenſual appetite, become an idol to which all men bow the knee; and when riches are worſhipped as a paſſport to power, as well as to pleaſure, they corrupt the heart, eradicate every virtue, and foſter every vice. In ſuch diſſolution of manners, contradictions are reconciled: avarice and meanneſs unite with vanity; diſſimulation and cunning, with ſplendor. Where ſubjects are ſo corrupted, what will the prince be, who is not taught to moderate his paſſions, who meaſures juſtice by appetite, and who is debilitated by corporeal pleaſures? Such a prince never thinks of heading his own troops, nor of extending his dominions. Moſtazen, the laſt Califf of Bagdat, is a conſpicuous inſtance of the degeneracy deſcribed. His kingdom being invaded by the Tartars in the year 1258, he ſhut himſelf up in his ſeraglio with his debauched companions, as in profound peace; and, ſtupified with ſloth and voluptuouſneſs, was the only perſon who appeared careleſs about the fate of his empire. A King of Perſia, being informed that the Turks had made themſelves maſters of his beſt provinces, anſwered, that he was indifferent about their ſucceſs, provided they would not diſturb him in his city of Iſpahan. Hoatſang, the laſt Chineſe Emperor of the Chineſe race, hid himſelf in his palace, while the Tartars were wreſting from him his northern provinces, and Liſtching, a rebel mandarine, was wreſting from him the remainder. The Empreſs ſtrangled herſelf in her apartment; and the Emperor, making

making a laſt effort, followed her example. The ninth Chineſe Emperor of the blood of Genhizcan, addicted to women and prieſts, was deſpiſed by his people. A perſon without a name, who had been a ſervant in a convent of Bonzes, putting himſelf at the head of ſome robbers, dethroned the monarch, and extinguiſhed the royal family.

The Tonquineſe, after a long ſubjection to the Emperor of China, regained their independence, and were governed by kings of their own nation. Theſe princes having by long peace become indolent, luxurious, and effeminate, abandoned the government of the kingdom to their miniſters. The governor of Cochinchina, being at a great diſtance from the capital, revolted firſt, and that country became a ſeparate kingdom. The governor of Tonquin, within which province the King reſided, uſurped the ſovereignty: but reſpecting the royal family, he only locked up the King in his palace; leaving to the King's deſcendents the name of *Bova*, or King, with ſome ſhadow of royalty. The uſurper and his ſucceſſors content themſelves with the title of *Chova*, or Generaliſſimo; which ſatisfies the people, who pierce no deeper than what eyeſight diſcovers. A revolution of the ſame kind happened in Japan. Similar cauſes produce ſimilar effects. The luxurious and indolent ſucceſſors of Charlemagne in the kingdom of France, truſting their power and authority with the mairs of their palace, were never ſeen in public, and were ſeldom heard of. The great power of theſe officers, inflamed them with an appetite for more. Pepin and his ſucceſſors were for a long time kings *de facto*, leaving to the rightful ſovereign nothing but the empty name. Charles Martel reigned for ſome time without even naming a king. And at laſt Pepin the younger, ann. 751, throwing off the maſk, ordered himſelf to be proclaimed King of France.

Monteſquieu, diſcourſing of luxury in great empires, and effeminacy

feminacy in the monarchs, deſcribes the danger of revolutions, from ambitious men bred to war, in the following words. " En " effet il étoit naturel que des Empereurs nourris dans les fatigues " de la guerre, qui parvenoient à faire deſcendre du trone une fa- " mille noyée dans les delices, conſervaſſent la vertu qu'ils avoi- " ent eprouvée ſi utile, et craigniſſent les voluptés qu'ils avoient " vue ſi funeſtes. Mais après ces trois ou quatre premiers princes, " la corruption, le luxe, l'oiſivété, les delices, s'emparent des " ſucceſſeurs; ils s'enferment dans le palais, leur eſprit s'affoi- " blit, leur vie s'accourcit, la famille decline; les grands s'élévent, " les eunuques s'acreditent, on ne met ſur le trone que des en- " fans; le palais devient ennemi de l'empire, un people oiſif qui " habite, ruine celui qui travaille; l'Empereur eſt tué ou deſtruit " par un uſurpateur, qui fonde une famille, dont le troiſieme ou " quatrieme ſucceſſeur va dans le meme palais ſe renfermer en- " core * (*a*)."

Little reaſon then have we to apprehend the coalition of all nations into an univerſal monarchy. We ſee indeed in the hiſtory of mankind, frequent inſtances of the progreſs of nations from

* " It was indeed natural, that emperors, trained up to all the fatigues of war, " who had effected the dethronement of a family immerſed in ſenſual pleaſures, " ſhould adhere to that virtue of which they had experienced the utility, and " dread that voluptuouſneſs whoſe fatal effects they had ſeen. But after a ſucceſſion " of three or four ſuch princes, corruption, luxury, and indolence, appear again " in their ſucceſſors: they ſhut themſelves up in their palace, their ſoul is ener- " vated, their life is ſhortened, and their family declines: the grandees acquire " power, the eunuchs gain credit, and children are ſet on the throne; the palace " is at variance with the empire, the indolent ſtateſmen ruin the induſtrious people. " The Emperor is aſſaſſinated or depoſed by an uſurper, who founds a new race " of monarchs, of which the third or fourth in ſucceſſion, ſinking again into in- " dolence, purſues the ſame courſe of ruin, and lays the foundation of a new " change."

(*a*) L'eſprit des Loix, liv. 7. chap. 7.

ſmall

ſmall to great; but we ſee alſo inſtances no leſs frequent, of extenſive monarchies being ſplit into many ſmall ſtates. Such is the courſe of human affairs: ſtates are ſeldom ſtationary; but, like the ſun, are either advancing to their meridian, or falling down gradually till they ſink into obſcurity. An empire ſubjected to effeminate princes, and devoid of patriotiſm, cannot long ſubſiſt entire. The fate of all, with very few exceptions, has been uniformly the ſame. The governors of provinces, loſing all regard for a voluptuous and effeminate monarch, take courage, ſet up for themſelves, and aſſume regal authority, each in his own province. The puiſſant Aſſyrian monarchy, one of the earlieſt we read of in hiſtory, after having been long a terror to its neighbours, was diſmembered by the governors of Media and of Babylon, who detached theſe extenſive provinces from the monarchy. Mahomet and his immediate ſucceſſors erected a great empire, of which Bagdat became the capital. The later Califfs of that race, poiſoned with ſenſual pleaſure, loſt all vigour of mind, and ſunk down into ſloth and effeminacy. The governors of the diſtant provinces, were the firſt who ventured to declare themſelves independent. Their ſucceſs invited other governors, who ſtripped the Califf of his remaining provinces, leaving him nothing but the city of Bagdat; and of that he was deprived by the Tartars, who put an end to that once illuſtrious monarchy. The ſame would have been the fate of the Perſian empire, had it not been ſubdued by Alexander of Macedon. But after his death, it ſubmitted to the ordinary fate: his generals aſſumed regal power, each of them in the province he governed. Had not the Roman empire been diſmembered by the barbarians, it would have been diſmembered by the governors of its provinces. The weakneſs of Charlemagne's ſucceſſors, hatched in France and in Germany an endleſs number of petty ſovereigns. About the time that a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was diſcovered, the great peninſula

ſula beyond the Ganges was comprehended under the powerful empire of Biſnagar. Its firſt monarchs had eſtabliſhed themſelves by valour and military knowledge. In war, they headed their troops: in peace, they directed their miniſters, viſited their dominions, and were punctual in rendering juſtice to high and low. The people carried on an extenſive and lucrative commerce, which brought a revenue to the Emperor that enabled him to maintain a ſtanding army of 100,000 foot, 30,000 horſe, and 700 elephants. But proſperity and opulence ruined all. The Emperors, poiſoned with pride and voluptuouſneſs, were now contented with ſwelling titles, inſtead of ſolid fame. *King of kings*, and *Husband of a thouſand wives*, were at the head of a long catalogue of ſuch pompous, but empty epithets. Corrupted by flattery, they affected divine honours, and appeared rarely in public; leaving the care of their dominions to their miniſters, and to the governors of their provinces. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, neighbouring princes encroached on all ſides. In the 1565, Biſnagar the capital was taken and ſacked by four Mooriſh kings. The governors of the provinces declared themſelves independent; and out of that great empire ſprung the kingdoms of Golconda, Viſapour, and ſeveral others. The empire of Hindoſtan, once widely extended, is now reduced to a very ſmall kingdom, under a prince who no longer is intitled to be deſigned the Great Mogul; the governors of his provinces having, as uſual, declared themſelves independent.

Our North-American colonies are in a proſperous condition, increaſing rapidly in population, and in opulence. The coloniſts have the ſpirit of a free people, and are enflamed with patriotiſm. Their population will equal that of Britain and Ireland in leſs than a century; and they will then be a match for the mother-country, if they chuſe to be independent: every advantage will be on their ſide, as the attack muſt be by ſea from a very great diſtance. Being

ing thus delivered from a foreign yoke, their firſt care will be the choice of a proper government; and it is not difficult to foreſee what government will be choſen. A people animated with the new bleſſings of liberty and independence, will not incline to a kingly government. The Swiſs cantons joined in a federal union, for protection againſt the potent houſe of Auſtria; and the Dutch embraced the like union, for protection againſt the more potent King of Spain. But our colonies will never join in ſuch a union; becauſe they have no potent neighbour, and becauſe they have an averſion to each other. We may pronounce then with tolerable certainty, that each colony will chuſe for itſelf a republican government. And their preſent conſtitution prepares them for it: they have a ſenate; and they have an aſſembly repreſenting the people. No change will be neceſſary, but to drop the governor who repreſents the King of Britain. And thus a part of a great ſtate will be converted into many ſmall ſtates.

SKETCH

SKETCH V.

GREAT and SMALL STATES compared.

NEighbours, according to the common ſaying, muſt be ſweet friends or bitter enemies: patriotiſm is vigorous in ſmall ſtates; and the hatred to neighbouring ſtates no leſs ſo: both vaniſh in a great monarchy.

Like a *maximum* in mathematics, emulation has the fineſt play within certain bounds; it languiſheth where its objects are too many, or too few: and hence it is, that the moſt heroic actions are performed in a ſtate of moderate extent. Appetite for applauſe, or fame, may ſubſiſt in a great monarchy; but by that appetite, without the ſupport of emulation, heroic actions are ſeldom atchieved.

Small ſtates, however corrupted, are not liable to deſpotiſm: the people being contiguous to the ſeat of government, and accuſtomed to ſee their governors daily, talk familiarly of their errors, and publiſh them every where. On Spain, which formerly conſiſted of many ſmall ſtates, a profound writer (*a*) makes the following obſervation. "The petty monarch was but little elevated "above his nobles: having little power, he could not command "much reſpect; nor could his nobles look up to him with that "reverence which is felt in approaching great monarchs." Another thing is equally weighty againſt deſpotiſm in a ſmall ſtate:

(*a*) Dr Robertſon.

the

the army cannot eaſily be ſeparated from the people; and for that reaſon, is very little dangerous. The Roman pretorian bands were billeted in the towns near Rome; and three cohorts only were employed in guarding that city. Sejanus, prefect of theſe bands under Tiberius, lodged the three cohorts in a ſpacious barrack within the city, in order to gain more authority over them, and to wean them from familiarity with the people. Tacitus, in the 4th book of his Annals, relates the ſtory in the following words. "Vim præfecturæ modicam antea, intendit, diſperſas "per urbem cohortes una in caſtra conducendo; ut ſimul impe- "ria acciperent, numeroque et robore, et viſu, inter ſe, fiducia "ipſis, in cæteros metus, crearetur *."

What is ſaid above, ſuggeſts the cauſe of a curious fact recorded in ancient hiſtory, viz. That of many attempts to uſurp the ſovereignty of different Greek republics, very few ſucceeded; and that no uſurpation of that kind was laſting. Every circumſtance differs in an extenſive ſtate: the people, at a diſtance from the throne, and having profound veneration for the ſovereign, conſider themſelves, not as members of a body-politic, but as ſubjects merely, bound implicitly to obey: by which impreſſion they are prepared beforehand for deſpotiſm. Other reaſons concur: the ſubjects of a great ſtate are dazzled with the ſplendor of their monarch; and as their union is prevented by diſtance, the monarch can ſafely employ a part of his ſubjects againſt the reſt, or a ſtanding army againſt all.

A great ſtate poſſeſſes one eminent advantage, viz. ability to

* "He extended the power of the prefecture, by collecting into one camp "thoſe pretorian cohorts which were formerly diſperſed all over the city; that "thus, being united, they might be more influenced by his orders, and while their "confidence in their power was increaſed by the conſtant view of their own num- "bers and ſtrength, they might at the ſame time ſtrike a great terror in others."

execute magnificent works. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and its lake Meris, are illuſtrious examples. The city of Heliopolis in Syria, named *Balbek* by the Turks, is a pregnant inſtance of the power and opulence of the Roman empire. Even in the ruins of that city, there are remains of great magnificence and exquiſite taſte. If the imperial palace, or the temple of the Sun, to mention no other building, were the work of any European prince exiſting at preſent, it would make a capital figure in the annals of his reign. And yet ſo little *eclat* did theſe works make at the time of execution, that there is not a hint of them in any hiſtorian. The beneficence of ſome great monarchs is worthy of ſtill greater praiſe. In the principal roads of Japan, hot baths are erected at proper diſtances, with other conveniencies, for the uſe of travellers. The beneficence of the Chineſe government to thoſe who ſuffer ſhipwreck, gives a more advantageous impreſſion of that monarchy, than all that is painfully collected by Du Halde. To verify the obſervation, I joyfully lay hold of the following incident. In the year 1728, the ſhip Prince George took her departure from Calcutta in Bengal for Canton in China, with a cargo L. 60,000 value. A violent ſtorm drove her aſhore at a place named *Timpau*, a great way weſt from Canton. Not above half the crew could make the ſhore, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and not doubting of being maſſacred by the natives. How amazed were they to be treated with remarkable humanity! A mandarin appeared, who not only provided for them victuals in plenty, but alſo divers to aſſiſt them in fiſhing the wreck. What follows is in the words of my author, Alexander Wedderburn of St Germains, a gentleman of known worth and veracity, who bore office in the ſhip. "In a few days we "recovered L. 5000 in bullion, and afterward L. 10,000 more. "Before we ſet forward to Canton, the mandarin our benefac- "tor took an exact account of our money, with the names of the "men,

" men, furniſhed us with an eſcort to conduct us through his " diſtrict, and conſigned us dead or alive to one Suqua at Canton, " a Chineſe merchant well known to the Engliſh there. In every " one of our reſting-places, victuals were brought to us by the " villagers in plenty, and with great cordiality. In this manner " we paſſed from one diſtrict to another, without having occaſion " to lay out a ſingle farthing, till we reached Canton, which we " did in nine days, travelling ſometimes by land, and ſometimes " by water. Our caſe had been repreſented to the court at Pekin, " from whence orders came to diſtribute amongſt us a ſum of " money; which was done by the Chuntuck, Hoppo, and other " officers, civil and military, aſſembled in great ſtate. After a " ſhort ſpeech, expreſſing regret for our calamity, with an eulo- " gium on the humane and generous diſpoſition of their maſter; " to each of us was preſented the Emperor's bounty, in a yellow " bag, on which was inſcribed the nature of the gift. The " firſt ſupercargo received 450 tales in ſilver, the ſecond 350, my- " ſelf 250, the mate 75, and each common ſeaman 15; the whole " amounting to about 2000 tales, or L. 800. This is an example " worthy imitation, even where Chriſtianity is profeſſed; tho' " its tenets are often, on like occaſions, ſcandalouſly perverted." So far my author: and I add, that this bounty was undoubtedly eſtabliſhed by law; for it has not the appearance of an occaſional or ſingular act of benevolence. If ſo, China is the only country in the world, where charity to ſtrangers in diſtreſs is a branch of public police.

Another advantage of a great ſtate I mention with peculiar pleaſure, becauſe all who aſpire to be eminent in literature, are intereſted in it. A ſmall kingdom, like Denmark, like Sweden, like Portugal, cannot naturally be productive of good writers; becauſe where there are few readers, there is no ſufficient incitement to exert literary talents: a claſſical work produced at preſent in the

Celtic language, would be little leſs than a miracle. France is eminent above all other nations for the encouragement it affords to good writers: it is a populous country; it is the chief ſeat of taſte, arts, and ſciences; and its language has become univerſal in Europe, being the court-language every where: what wonder then is it, that French writers carry the palm? But let not the Britiſh deſpond; for doth not a glorious proſpect lie before them? The demand for Engliſh books in America is conſiderable; and is increaſing daily. Population goes on vigorouſly: the number of Britiſh already ſettled upon the river Ohio approach to 10,000; and the delicious country from that river down to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, will be filled with people whoſe native tongue is Engliſh. What reaſon is there to doubt, but that ſo fine a climate and ſo rich a ſoil will be productive of readers in plenty? The proſpect of ſo many readers, tho' in diſtant parts of the globe, muſt rouſe our ambition; and our ambition will be happily directed, if we lay aſide all local diſtinctions, and aſpire to rival the French writers in real merit only.

But the foregoing advantages of a great ſtate, however illuſtrious, are ſadly overbalanced by manifold diſadvantages. The firſt is, the corruption of its kings, which, with a different view, is mentioned in the ſketch immediately preceding. And beſide corruption, there is another diſadvantage that great monarchs are ſubjected to; which is, that being highly elevated above their ſubjects, they are acquainted with none but their miniſters. And miniſters, who, in a deſpotic government, are ſubject to no controul but that of their maſter, commonly prefer their own intereſt, without regard to his honour. Solyman Emperor of the Turks, tho' accompliſhed above any of his predeceſſors, could not eſcape the artifices of his wife Roxalana, and of his Viſir Ruſtan. They poiſoned his ears with repeated calumnies againſt his eldeſt ſon Muſtapha, a young prince of great hopes. They were not in-

hazard

hazard of detection, becauſe no perſon had acceſs to the Emperor but by their means. And the concluding ſcene, was an order from the Emperor to put his ſon to death (*a*). If a great monarch lie thus open in his own palace to the artifices of his miniſters, his authority, we may be certain, will be very ſlight over the governors of his diſtant provinces. Their power is precarious; and they oppreſs the people without intermiſſion, in order to amaſs wealth: the complaints of the people are diſregarded; for they can never reach the throne. The Spaniſh governors of the Philippine iſlands, afford a deplorable inſtance of this obſervation. The heat of the climate promotes luxury; and luxury prompts avarice, which rages without controul, the diſtance of the capital removing all fear of detection. Arbitrary taxes are impoſed on the people, and exceſſive duties on goods imported, which are rigorouſly exacted, and converted by the governor to his own uſe. An arbitrary eſtimate is made of what every field may produce; and the huſbandman is ſeverely puniſhed if he fail to deliver the appointed quantity, whether his land has produced it or not. Many thouſands have abandoned their native country; and the few miſerable wretches who remain, have taken refuge among inacceſſible mountains.

The corruption of a court ſpreads through every member of the ſtate. In an extenſive kingdom, powerful above its neighbours, the ſubjects, having no occaſion to exert themſelves in defence of their country, loſe their manhood, and become cowards. At the ſame time, great inequality of rank and fortune engender luxury, ſelfiſhneſs, and ſenſuality *. The fine arts, it is true, gain

(*a*) See Dr Robertſon's hiſtory of Charles V. where this incident is related with uncommon ſpirit.

* The following paſſage is from a late Ruſſian writer. "It is a truth founded "on

gain ground, manufactures are perfected, and courtly manners prevail: but every manly virtue is gone; and not a ſoul to be found, who will venture his life to ſave his country. That diſeaſe is ſpreading in Britain; and the only circumſtance that guards France from equal puſillanimity, is an eſtabliſhed mode, that every gentleman muſt ſerve ſome campaigns in the army.

A third diſadvantage of an extenſive monarchy is, that it is liable to internal convulſions or revolutions, occaſioned commonly either by a ſtanding army, or by the governors of diſtant provinces. With reſpect to the former, the government of a great kingdom enervated by luxury, will always be military, and conſequently deſpotic. A numerous army will ſoon learn to contemn a puſillanimous leader, and to break looſe from every tie of ſubjection: the ſovereign is often changed at the caprice of the army; but deſpotiſm continues invariable. In Turky, Janiſaries dethrone the Sultan, without ſcruple; but being ſuperſtitiouſly attached to the royal family, they confine themſelves to it in electing a new Sultan. The pretorian bands were the Janiſaries of the Roman empire, who never ſcrupled to dethrone the Emperor on the ſlighteſt diſobligation. But as there was no royal family, they commonly carried the crown to market, and beſtow'd it on the higheſt bidder. With reſpect to the latter, the governors of diſtant provinces,

" on experience, that commerce poliſhes manners: but it is alſo a truth, that " commerce, by exciting luxury, corrupts manners. With the increaſe of foreign " faſhions and foreign commerce in Ruſſia, foreign luxury has increaſed there in " proportion, univerſal diſſipation has taken the lead, and profligacy of manners " has followed. Great landlords ſqueeze and grind their people, to ſupply the in- " ceſſant demands of luxury: the miſerable peaſant, diſabled by a load of taxes, is " frequently compelled to abandon his habitation, and to leave his land uncultivated. And thus agriculture and population diminiſh daily; than which no- " thing worſe can befal a ſtate."

accuſtomed

accuſtomed to act without controul, become fond of power, and put no bounds to ambition. Let them but gain the affection of the people they govern, and boldneſs will do the reſt. The monarch is dethroned before he is prepared for defence, and the uſurper takes his place without oppoſition. Succeſs commonly attends ſuch undertakings; for the ſovereign has no ſoul, and the people have no patriotiſm. In Hindoſtan formerly, ſome diſcontented favourite or ſouba took up arms to avenge fancied, or perhaps affected wrongs: venturing not however upon independence, he ſcreened himſelf with ſetting up ſome perſon of the royal blood, whom he proclaimed ſovereign. The voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy of the late kings of Perſia, has rendered that kingdom a prey to every bold invader. There perhaps never exiſted a ſtate that ſo often has changed its maſter, as Perſia has done of late years.

In the fourth place, a nation corrupted with luxury and ſenſuality is a ready morſel for every invader: to attempt the conqueſt, and to ſucceed, are almoſt the ſame. The potent Aſſyrian monarchy, having long ſubſiſted in peace without a ſingle enemy, ſunk into ſloth and effeminacy, and became an eaſy prey to the kings of Media and Babylon. Theſe two nations, in like circumſtances of ſloth and effeminacy, were in their turn ſwallow'd up by Cyrus King of Perſia. And the great empire of Perſia, running the ſame courſe, was ſubdued by Alexander of Macedon with a ſmall army of thirty-five thouſand men *.

And this leads to a fifth diſadvantage of a great empire, which

* In Europe, neighbouring nations differ little in manners, or in fortitude. In Aſia, we ſtep inſtantly from the fierce Tartars, inhabiting a cold and barren country, to the effeminate people of a country warm and fertile. Hence in Aſia perpetual conqueſts from north to ſouth, to which even the great wall of China makes ſcarce any obſtacle.

is,

is, the difficulty of guarding its frontiers. A kingdom, like an animal, becomes weak in proportion to its exceſs above a certain ſize. France and Spain would be leſs fitted for defence, were they enlarged beyond their preſent extent: Spain in particular was a very weak kingdom, while it comprehended the Netherlands and the half of Italy. In their preſent ſize, forces are ſoon collected to guard the moſt diſtant frontiers. Months are required to aſſemble troops in an overgrown kingdom like Perſia: if an army be defeated at the frontier, it muſt diſperſe, fortified places being ſeldom within reach. The victor, advancing with celerity, lays ſiege to the capital, before the provincial troops can be formed into a regular army: the capital is taken, the empire diſſolved, and the conqueror at leiſure diſputes the provinces with their governors. The Philippine iſlands made formerly a part of the extenſive empire of China; but as they were too diſtant to be protected, or well governed, it ſhow'd conſummate wiſdom in the Chineſe government to abandon them, with ſeveral other diſtant provinces.

A ſmall ſtate, on the other hand, is eaſily guarded. The Greek republics thought themſelves ſufficiently fortified againſt the Great King, by their courage, their union, and their patriotiſm. The Spaniſh Chriſtians, beat out of the open country by the Saracens, retired to the mountains of Aſturia, and elected Don Pelayo to be their King. That warlike prince walled none of his towns, nor did he fortify a ſingle paſs; knowing, that while his people were brave, they would be invincible; and that walls and ſtrong-holds ſerve but to abate courage. The Romans, while circumſcribed within Italy, never thought of any defence againſt an enemy but good troops. When they had acquired a vaſt empire, even the Rhine ed a barrier too weak: the numberleſs forts and le- ir frontiers could not defend them from a panic

panic upon every motion of the barbarians *. A nation in which the reciprocal duties of ſovereign and ſubject are conſcientiouſly fulfilled, and in which the people love their country and their governors, may be deemed invincible; provided due care be taken of the military branch. Every particular is reverſed in a great empire: individuals graſp at money, *per fas aut nefas*, to laviſh it upon pleaſure: the governors of diſtant provinces tyrannize without control, and, during the ſhort period of their power, neglect no means, however oppreſſive, to amaſs wealth. Thus were the Roman provinces governed; and the people, who could not figure a greater tyrant than a Roman proconſul, were ready to embrace every change. The Romans accordingly were ſenſible, that to force their barrier, and to diſmember their empire, were in effect the ſame. In our times, the nations whoſe frontiers lie open, would make the moſt reſolute ſtand againſt an invader; witneſs the German ſtates, and the Swiſs cantons. Italy enjoys the ſtrongeſt natural barrier of any country that is not an iſland; and yet for centuries has been a prey to every invader.

Two methods have been practiſed for ſecuring the frontiers of an extenſive empire: one is, to lay the frontiers waſte; the other is, to eſtabliſh feudatory princes in the diſtant provinces. Sha Abbas, King of Perſia, in order to prevent the inroads of the Turks, laid waſte part of Armenia, carrying the inhabitants to Iſpahan, and treating them with great humanity. Land is not much valued by the great monarchs of Aſia: it is precious in the ſmaller kingdoms of Europe, and the frontiers are commonly guarded by fortified towns. The other frontiers of Perſia are guarded by feudatory princes; and the ſame method is practiſed in China, in Hindoſtan, and in the Turkiſh empire. The princes of Little Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, have been long a ſecurity to the Grand Signior againſt his powerful neighbours in Europe.

* The uſe of cannon, which place the weak and ſtrong upon a level, is the only reſource of the luxurious and opulent againſt the poor and hardy.

SKETCH VI.

WAR and PEACE compared.

NO complaints are more frequent than againſt the weather, when it ſuits not our purpoſe: "A diſmal ſeaſon! we ſhall "be drowned, or we ſhall be burnt up." And yet wiſe men think, that there might be more occaſion to complain, were the weather left to our own direction. The weather is not the only inſtance of diſtruſting Providence: it is a common topic to declaim againſt war; "Scourge of nations, Deſtroyer of the human "race, Bane of arts and induſtry! Will the world never become "wiſe! will war never have an end!" Manifold indeed are the bleſſings of peace; but doth war never produce any good? A fair compariſon may poſſibly make it doubtful, whether war, like the weather, ought not to be reſigned to the conduct of Providence: ſeldom are we in the right when we repine at its diſpenſations.

The bleſſings of peace are too well known to need illuſtration: induſtry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. &c. depend on peace. What has war in ſtore for balancing bleſſings ſo ſubſtantial? Let us not abandon the field without making at leaſt one effort.

Humanity, it muſt be acknowledged, gains nothing from the wars of ſmall ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood: ſuch wars are brutal and bloody; becauſe they are carried on with bitter enmity a- [illegible] als. Thanks to Providence, that war at preſent bears

bears a leſs ſavage aſpect: we ſpare individuals, and make war upon the nation only: barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity; and ſoldiers are converted from brutes into heroes. Such wars give exerciſe to the elevated virtues of courage, generoſity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which are always attended with conſciouſneſs of merit and of dignity *. Friendſhip is in peace cool and

* In the war carried on by Louis XII. of France againſt the Venetians, the town of Breſcia, being taken by ſtorm, and abandoned to the ſoldiers, ſuffered for ſeven days all the diſtreſſes of cruelty and avarice. No houſe eſcaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance, the miſtreſs, a woman of figure, fell at his feet, and deeply ſobbing, "Oh! my Lord, ſave my life, ſave the ho-"nour of my daughters." Take courage, Madam, ſaid the Chevalier, your life and their honour ſhall be ſecure while I have life. The two young ladies, brought from their hiding-place, were preſented to him; and the family, thus reunited, beſtow'd their whole attention on their deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received gave them opportunity to expreſs their zeal: they employed a notable ſurgeon; they attended him by turn day and night; and when he could bear to be amuſed, they entertained him with concerts of muſic. Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother ſaid to him, "To your goodneſs, my Lord, we owe our life, and to "you all that we have belongs by right of war; but we hope from your ſignal be-"nevolence, that this ſlight tribute will content you;" placing upon the table an iron coffer full of money. "What is the ſum," ſaid the Chevalier. "My "Lord," anſwered ſhe trembling, "no more but 2500 ducats, all that we have; "—but if more be neceſſary, we will try our friends."—"Madam," ſaid he, "I never ſhall forget your kindneſs, more precious in my eyes than a hundred "thouſand ducats. Take back your money, and depend always on me."—"My good Lord, you kill me to refuſe this ſmall ſum: take it only as a mark "of your friendſhip to my family."—"Well," ſaid he, "ſince it will oblige you, "I take the money; but give me the ſatisfaction of bidding adieu to your ami-"able daughters." They came to him with looks of regard and affection. "La-"dies," ſaid he, "the impreſſion you have made on my heart, will never wear "out. What return to make, I know not; for men of my profeſſion are ſeldom "opulent: but here are two thouſand five hundred ducats, of which the generoſi-"ty of your mother has given me the diſpoſal. Accept them as a marriage-pre-"ſent; and may your happineſs in marriage equal your merit." "Flower of chi-"valry,"

and languid; but in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthuſiaſm. The long and bloody war ſuſtained by the Netherlanders

" valry," cried the mother, " may the God who ſuffered death for us reward you " here and hereafter." Can peace afford ſo ſweet a ſcene?

The following incident is ſtill more intereſting: it is of a late date; it happened among our countrymen; and will, for theſe reaſons, make the deeper impreſſion. The ſcene of action was in Admiral Watſon's ſhip at the ſiege of Chandernagore, where Captain Speke, and his ſon, a youth of ſixteen, were both of them wounded by the ſame ſhot. The hiſtory is related by Mr Ives ſurgeon of the ſhip; which follows in his own words, only a little abridged. The Captain, whoſe leg was hanging by the ſkin, ſaid to the Admiral, " Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel ſhot, to knock down " both father and ſon." Mr Watſon's heart was too full for a reply; he only ordered both to be carried down to the ſurgeon. The Captain, who was firſt brought down, told me how dangerouſly his Billy had been wounded. Preſently after the brave youth himſelf appeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears, not for himſelf but for his father. Upon my aſſurance that his father's wound was not dangerous, he became calm; but refuſed to be touched, till his father's wound ſhould be firſt dreſſed. Then pointing to a fellow-ſufferer, " Pray, Sir, dreſs alſo that poor " man, who is groaning ſo ſadly beſide me." I told him that the man had already been taken care of; and begged, that I now might have liberty to examine his wound. He ſubmitted; and calmly ſaid, " Sir, I fear you muſt amputate above the joint." I replied, " My dear, I muſt." He claſped his hands together; and, lifting his eyes toward heaven, he offered up the following ſhort but earneſt petition: " Good God! do thou enable me to behave in my preſent circumſtances worthy " of my father." He then told me he was all ſubmiſſion. I performed the operation above the joint of the knee; and during the whole time the intrepid youth never ſpoke a word, nor uttered a groan that could be heard at the diſtance of a yard. It is eaſier to imagine than to expreſs the feelings of the father at this time: but whatever he felt, tears were the only expreſſion. Both of them were carried to Calcutta: the father was lodged in the houſe of his brother-in-law; and the ſon was placed with me in the hoſpital. For the firſt week I gave comfort to both, carrying good tidings to them of one another. But, alas! all the good ſymptoms that had attended the young man, began to diſappear. The Captain perceived all in my countenance; and ſo unwilling was he to add to my diſtreſs, as ſeldom to ſpeak about his ſon. One time he ſaid, " How long, my friend, do you think my " Billy

landers againſt the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes: they forc'd their way to the Indies during the hotteſt period of the war; and gained by commerce what ſupported them againſt their ferocious enemy. What have they gained ſince by peace? Their immenſe commerce has eradicated patriotiſm, and every appetite but for wealth. Had their violated rights been reſtored without a ſtruggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and fiſhermen. The Swiſs, by continual ſtruggles for liberty againſt the potent houſe of Auſtria, became a brave and active people, feared and courted by neighbouring princes. Their federal union has ſecured to them peace and tranquillity; which, notwithſtanding their mountainous ſituation, would have ſunk them into effeminacy, but for a commerce they carry on, of hiring out their men for ſoldiers. Monks are commonly puſillani-

" Billy may remain in a ſtate of uncertainty?" I replied, that if he ſurvived the fifteenth day after the operation, there would be ſtrong hopes of his recovery. On the thirteenth he died; and on the ſixteenth, the Captain, looking me ſtedfaſtly in the face, " Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" Diſcovering the truth from my ſilence, he cried bitterly, ſqueezed my hand, and begged me to leave him for one half-hour. When I returned, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and ſerene. The excellent youth had been delirious the evening before his death; and at two o'clock in the morning, he ſent me a note written with a pencil, of which the following is a copy. " Mr Ives will conſider the diſorder a ſon muſt " be in when he is dying, and is yet in doubt about his father. — If Mr Ives is not " too buſy to honour this note, which nothing but the greateſt uneaſineſs could " draw from me — The boy waits an anſwer." I immediately repaired to him; and he had ſtill ſenſe enough to know me. He then ſaid, " And is he dead?" — " Who, my dear?" — " My father, Sir." — " No, my love; nor is he " in any danger; he is almoſt well." — " I thank God: I am now ſatisfied, and " am ready to die." He had a locked jaw, and was in great pain, but I underſtood every word he uttered. He begged my pardon for having diſturbed me at ſo early an hour; and before the day was ended, he ſurrendered a life that deſerved to be immortal. — So far my author; and I only add, Does peace afford any ſcene that can compare with this in moving our ſympathetic feelings?

mous:

mous: their way of life, which removes them from danger, enervates their minds, and renders them ſpiritleſs and cowardly.

Induſtry, manufactures, and wealth, are the fruits of peace; but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a ſlow poiſon, that debilitates the mind, and renders it incapable of any manly exertion; courage, magnanimity, heroiſm, come to be ranked among the miracles that are ſuppoſed never to have exiſted but in fable; and the faſhionable properties of ſenſuality, avarice, cunning, and diſſimulation, engroſs the mind. In a word, man by conſtant proſperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent, and ſelfiſh animal; more deſpicable, if leſs odious, than an American ſavage, who treaſures up the ſcalps of his enemies as trophies of his proweſs. Such are the fruits of perpetual peace with reſpect to individuals.

Nor is the ſtate itſelf leſs debilitated by it than its members. Figure a man wallowing in riches, and immerſed in ſenſual pleaſure, but dreading the infection of a plague raging at his gate; or figure him in continual dread of an enemy, watching every opportunity to burn and deſtroy. This man repreſents a commercial ſtate, that has long enjoy'd peace without diſturbance. A ſtate that is a tempting object to an invader, without means of defence, is in a woful ſituation. The republic of Venice was once famous for the wiſdom of its conſtitution, and for being the Chriſtian bulwark againſt the Turks; but by long peace it has become altogether effeminate. Its preſent principles of government are conformable to its character. Every cauſe of quarrel with a neighbour, is anxiouſly avoided; and diſturbances at home prevented by watchful ſpies. Holland, ſince the days of King William, has not produced a man fit to command a regiment: and the Dutch have nothing to rely on for independence, but mutual jealouſy among their neighbours. Hannibal appeared upon the ſtage too early: had the Romans, after their conqueſt of Italy, been

been ſuffered to exchange their martial ſpirit for luxury and voluptuouſneſs, they would have been no match for that great general. It was equally lucky for the Romans, that they came late upon Macedon. Had Alexander finiſhed his conqueſt of Greece, and the Romans theirs of Italy, at the ſame period, they would probably have been confined each of them within their own limits. But Aſiatic luxury and effeminacy, which had got hold of the Greeks and Macedonians before the Roman invaſion, rendered them an eaſy prey to the invaders. It was the conſtant cry of Cato the Cenſor, "*Delenda eſt Carthago.*" Scipio Naſica was a more able politician: his opinion was, to give peace to Carthage, that the dread of that once powerful republic, might preſerve in vigour the military ſpirit of his country. What happened afterward, ſets the wiſdom of that advice in a conſpicuous light. The battle of Actium, after a long train of cruel civil wars, gave peace to Rome under the Emperor Auguſtus, Peace had not ſubſiſted much above thirty years, when a Roman army, under Quintilius Varus, was cut to pieces in Germany. The conſternation at Rome was great, as there was not a fortified town to prevent the Germans from pouring down upon Italy. Inſtant orders were given for levying men; but ſo effeminate had the Romans already become, that not a ſingle man would enliſt voluntarily. And Auguſtus was forc'd to uſe ſevere meaſures, before he could collect a very ſmall army. How different the military ſpirit of the Romans during the ſecond Punic war, when ſeveral Roman armies were cut off, greater than that of Varus. The citizens who could bear arms were reduced to 137,000; and yet in the later years of that war, the Romans made ſhift to keep the field with no fewer than twenty-three legions (*a*). The Vandals, having expelled the Romans from Afric, enjoy'd peace for a century without ſeeing the face of an

(*a*) Titus Livius, lib. 26. cap. 1.

enemy.

enemy. Procopius (*a*) gives the following account of them. Charmed with the fertility of the ſoil and benignity of the climate, they abandoned themſelves to luxury, ſumptuous dreſs, high living, and frequent baths. They dwelt in the theatre and circus, amuſing themſelves with dancers, pantomimes, and other gay entertainments: their villas were ſplendid, and their gardens were adorned with water-works, beautiful trees, and odoriferous flowers: no regard to chaſtity, nor to any manly virtue. In that effeminate condition, they made ſcarce any reſiſtance to Beliſarius with an army far inferior to their own in number. The Saracens of Aſia, corrupted by proſperity and opulence, were able to make no head againſt the Turks. About that time, the Spaniards, having by the ſame means become effeminate, were overpowered by the Saracens of Afric, who, remote from the corrupt manners of Aſia, retained their military ſpirit. The wealth of the kingdom of Whidah in Guinea, from fertility of ſoil, great induſtry, and extenſive commerce, produced luxury and effeminacy. The king, no leſs luxurious than his people, gave himſelf up to ſenſual pleaſures, leaving government to his miniſters. In that ſituation was Whidah in the year 1727, when the king of Dahomay, an inland ſtate, requeſted acceſs to the ſea for trade, offering to purchaſe the privilege with a yearly tribute. A haughty denial furniſhed a pretext for war. The king of Dahomay invaded the territories of his enemy with a diſciplined army, and pierced to the capital without meeting any reſiſtance. The king of Whidah with his women had fled to an iſland, and his people were all diſperſed. It amazed the conqueror, that a whole nation, without ſtriking a blow, had thus deſerted their wives, their children, their gods, their poſſeſſions, and all that was dear to them. The Japaneſe became warlike during long and bloody civil wars, which termi-

(*a*) Hiſtoria Vandalica, lib. 2.

nated

nated, about the end of the ſixteenth century, in rendering their Emperor deſpotic. From that period no opportunity has occurred for exerciſing their military ſpirit, except in the education of their youth: heroiſm, with contempt of death, are inculcated; and the hiſtories of their illuſtrious heroes, are the only books that boys at ſchool are taught to read. But the profound tranquillity that the empire now enjoys in a ſtrict and regular government, will in time render that warlike people effeminate and cowardly: human nature cannot reſiſt the poiſon of perpetual peace and ſecurity. In the war between the Turks and Venetians *anno* 1715, the latter put great confidence in Napoli di Romania, a city in the Morea ſtrongly fortified, and provided with every neceſſary for an obſtinate defence. They had not the leaſt doubt of being able to draw their whole force together, before the Turks could make any progreſs in the ſiege. But, to their aſtoniſhment, the taking of that city, and of every other fortified place in the Morea, was the work of but a ſingle campaign. So much had the Venetians degenerated by long peace, from the courage and patriotiſm of their forefathers who conquered that country from the Turks. In ſome late accounts from China, we are told, that the King of Bengala or Bracma, having invaded Yunnan, an opulent province of China, obtained a complete victory over the Emperor's army, commanded by his ſon-in-law; which ſtruck the inhabitants of that province with ſuch a panic, that multitudes, for fear of the conqueror, hanged and drowned themſelves. To what a torpid ſtate by this time would Europe have been reduced, had the plan for a perpetual peace, projected by Henry IV. of France, been carried into execution? Conqueſt, in a retrograde motion, would have directed its progreſs from the eaſt to the weſt. Our ſituation in an iſland, among ſeveral advantages, is ſo far unlucky, that it puts us off our guard, and renders us negligent in

providing for defence: we never were invaded without being ſubdued *.

Monteſquieu, in a warm panegyric on the Engliſh conſtitution, has overlooked one particular, in which it is ſuperior to every other monarchy; and that is, the frequent opportunities it affords of exerting mental powers and talents. What agitation among the candidates and their electors on the approach of a new parliament: what freedom of ſpeech and eloquence in parliament; miniſters and their meaſures laid open to the world, the nation kept alive, and inſpired with a vigour of mind that tends to heroiſm! This government, it is true, generates factions, which ſometimes generate revolutions: but the golden age, ſo luſciouſly deſcribed by poets, would to man be worſe than an iron age. At any rate, better to have a government liable to ſtorms, than to attempt a cure by the dead calm of deſpotiſm †.

Law-ſuits

* The ſituation of the King of Sardinia, environed on all ſides with powerful monarchs, obliges him to act with the greateſt circumſpection; which circumſtance ſeems to have formed the character of the princes of that houſe. Theſe princes have exerted more ſagacity in ſteering their political courſe, and more dexterity in availing themſelves of every wind, than any other race of ſovereigns that figure in hiſtory. *Robertſon's hiſtory of the Emperor Charles V.*

† On n'entend parler dans les auteurs que des diviſions qui perdirent Rome; mais on ne voit pas que ces diviſions y étoient néceſſaires, qu'elles y avoient toujours été, et qu'elles y devoient toujours être. Ce fut uniquement la grandeur de la republique qui fit le mal, et qui changea en guerres civiles les tumultes populaires. Il falloit bien qu'il y eut a Rome des diviſions: et ces guerriers ſi fiers, ſi audacieux, ſi terribles au dehors, ne pouvoient pas être bien modérés au dedans. Demander dans un état libre des gens hardis dans la guerre, et timides dans la paix, c'eſt vouloir des choſes impoſſibiles: et pour regle générale, toutes les fois qu'on verra toute le monde tranquille dans un état qui ſe donne le nom de republique, on peut être aſſuré que la liberté n'y eſt pas. *Monteſquieu, grandeur des Romains, ch.* 9. — [*In Engliſh thus:* " Many writers have ſaid a great deal on " thoſe

Law-ſuits within a ſtate, like war between different ſtates, accuſtom people to oppoſition, and prevent too great ſoftneſs and facility of manners. In a free government, a degree of ſtubbornneſs in the people, is requiſite for reſiſting encroachments on their liberties. The fondneſs of the French for their ſovereign, and the eaſineſs and politeneſs of their manners, have corrupted a good conſtitution. The Britiſh conſtitution has been preſerved entire, by a people jealous of their prince, and ſtubborn againſt every encroachment of regal power.

There is another advantage of war, which ought not to be overlooked, tho' not capital. It ſerves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little miſchievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but twenty-nine criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to one hundred and fifty-one.

But tho' I declare againſt perpetual peace, perpetual war is ſtill more my averſion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vaſſals aſſumed the privilege of waging war without conſent of the ſovereign. Deadly feuds, which prevailed

" thoſe factions which deſtroyed Rome; but they want the penetration to ſee, " that thoſe factions were neceſſary, that they had always ſubſiſted, and ever muſt " have ſubſiſted. It was the grandeur of the ſtate which alone occaſioned the " evil, and changed into civil wars the tumults of the people. There muſt of ne- " ceſſity have been factions in Rome; for how was it poſſible, that thoſe who a- " broad ſubdued all by their undaunted bravery and by the terror of their arms, " ſhould live in peace and moderation at home? To look for a people in a free " ſtate who are intrepid in war, and, at the ſame time, timid in peace, is to look " for an impoſſibility; and we may hold it as a general rule, that in a ſtate which " profeſſes a republican form of government, if the people are quiet and peace- " able, there is no real liberty."

univerſally, threatened diſſolution of all government: the human race never were in a more woful condition. But anarchy never fails ſoon or late to provide a cure againſt itſelf, which effeminacy produced by long peace never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war; but ſo are likewiſe firmneſs of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge. The cruſades were what firſt gave a turn to the fierce manners of our anceſtors. A religious enterpriſe, which united numbers, formerly at variance, enlarged the ſphere of ſocial affection, and ſweetened the manners of Chriſtians to one another. Theſe cruſades filled Europe with heroes, who, at home, were ready for any new enterpriſe that promiſed laurels. Moved with the oppreſſive and miſerable conſequences of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry for ſuccouring the diſtreſſed, for redreſſing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans. Such heroiſm enflamed every one who was fond of glory and warlike atchievements. Chivalry was reliſhed by men of birth; and even kings were proud to be of the order. An inſtitution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people, and tended ſtrongly to improve their manners: humanity and gentleneſs could not but prevail in a ſociety, whoſe profeſſion it was, to ſuccour every perſon in diſtreſs. And as glory and honour were the only wiſhed-for recompence, chivalry was eſteemed the ſchool of honour, of truth, and of fidelity. Thus, truth without diſguiſe, and a ſcrupulous adherence to promiſes, became the diſtinguiſhing virtues of a gentleman. It is true, that the enthuſiaſm of protecting widows and orphans, degenerated ſometimes into extravagance; witneſs knights who wandered about in queſt of adventures. But it would be unfair to condemn the whole order, becauſe a few of their number were fooliſh. The true ſpirit of chivalry produced undoubtedly a ſignal reformation in the manners of Europe. To what

what other cauſe can we ſo juſtly aſcribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war, which characterize modern manners (*a*)? Are peace, luxury, and ſelfiſhneſs, capable of producing ſuch effects?

That man ſhould be the only animal who makes war upon his own kind, may at firſt appear ſtrange and unaccountable. Would men liſten to cool reaſon, they never would make war. Hear the celebrated Rouſſeau on that ſubject. " Un prince, qui pour re-
" culer ſes frontiers, perd autant de ſes anciens ſujets qu' il en
" acquiert de nouveaux, s' affoiblit en s' agrandiſſant; parce qu' a-
" vec un plus grand eſpace à defendre, il n' a pas plus de défen-
" ſeurs. Or on ne peut ignorer, que par la maniere dont la
" guerre ſe fait aujourd'hui, la moindre dépopulation qu'elle
" produit eſt celle qui ſe fait dans les armées: c'eſt bien-là la perte
" apparente et ſenſible; mais il s'en fait en même tems dans tout
" l'état une plus grave et plus irreparable que celle des hommes
" qui meurent, par ceux qui ne naiſſent pas, par l'augmentation
" des impôts, par l'interruption du commerce, par la déſertion
" des campagnes, par l'abandon de l'agriculture; ce mal qu'on
" n'apparcoit point d'abord, ſe fait ſentir cruellement dans la ſuite:
" et c'eſt alors qu'on eſt étonné d'être ſi foible, pour s'être rendu ſi
" puiſſant. Ce qui rend encore les conquêtes moins intéreſſantes,
" c'eſt qu'on ſait maintenant par quels moyens on peut doubler
" et tripler ſa puiſſance, non ſeulement ſans étendre ſon territoire,
" mais quelquefois en le reſſerrant, comme fit très ſagement l'Em-
" pereur Adrien. On ſait que ce ſont les hommes ſeuls qui ſont
" la force des Rois; et c'eſt une propoſition qui découle de ce que
" je viens de dire, que de deux états qui nourriſſent le même
" nombre d'habitans, celui qui occupe une moindre étendue de
" terre, eſt réellement le plus puiſſant. C'eſt donc par de bonnes

(*a*) Dr Robertſon's hiſtory of the Emperor Charles V.

" loix,

" loix, par une ſage police, par de grandes vues économiques, " qu'un ſouverain judicieux eſt sûr d'augmenter ſes forces, ſans " rien donner au hazard *." But war is neceſſary for man, being a ſchool for improving every manly virtue; and Providence renders kings blind with reſpect to their true intereſt, in order that war may ſometimes take place. To rely upon Providence in the government of this world, is the wiſdom of man.

Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, becauſe it converts men into beaſts of prey: perpetual peace is worſe, becauſe it converts men into beaſts of burden. To prevent ſuch woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and theſe means are adopted by Providence.

* " A prince, who in extending his territories ſuſtains the loſs of as many of " his old ſubjects as he acquires new, weakens in fact his power while he aims at " ſtrengthening it: he increaſes the territory to be defended, while the number of " defenders is not increaſed. Who does not know, that in the modern manner of " making war, the greateſt depopulation is not from the havock made in the armies? " That indeed is the obvious and apparent deſtruction; but there is, at the ſame " time, in the ſtate a loſs much more ſevere and irreparable; not that thouſands " are cut off, but that thouſands are not born: population is wounded by the in- " creaſe of taxes, by the interruption of commerce, by the deſertion of the coun- " try, and by the ſtagnation of agriculture: the misfortune which is overlooked " at firſt, is ſeverely felt in the event; and it is then that we are aſtoniſhed to find " we have been growing weak, while increaſing our power. What renders every " new conqueſt ſtill the leſs valuable, is the conſideration of the poſſibility of dou- " bling and tripling a nation's power, without extending its territory, nay, even " by diminiſhing it. The Emperor Adrian knew this, and wiſely practiſed it. " The numbers of the ſubjects are the ſtrength of the prince: and a conſequence " of what I have ſaid is this propoſition, That of two ſtates equal in the number of " inhabitants, that is in reality the more powerful which occupies the ſmaller terri- " tory. It is by good laws, by a ſalutary police, and great economical ſchemes, " that a wiſe ſovereign gains a ſure augmentation of ſtrength, without truſting any " thing to the fortune of his arms."

SKETCH

SKETCH VII.

Riſe and Fall of PATRIOTISM.

THE members of a tribe, in their original ſtate of hunting and fiſhing, being little united but by a common language, have no notion of a *patria*; and ſcarce any notion of ſociety, unleſs when they join in an expedition againſt an enemy, or againſt wild beaſts. The ſhepherd-ſtate, where flocks and herds are poſſeſſed in common, gives a clear notion of a common intereſt; but ſtill none of a *patria*. The ſenſe of a *patria* begins to unfold itſelf, when a people leave off wandering, to ſettle upon a territory which they call their own. Agriculture connects them together; and government ſtill more: they become fellow-citizens; and the territory is termed the *patria* of every perſon born in it. It is ſo ordered by Providence, that a man's country, and his countrymen, are to him in conjunction an object of a peculiar affection, termed *amor patriæ*, or *patriotiſm*; an affection that riſes high among a people intimately connected by regular government, by huſbandry, by commerce, and by a common intereſt. "Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; "ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt: pro qua "quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere *?"

* "Our parents are dear to us; ſo are our children, our relations, and our "friends: all theſe our country comprehends; and ſhall we fear to die for our "country?"

Social

Social paſſions and affections, beſide being greatly more agreeable than ſelfiſh, are thoſe only which command our eſteem (*a*). Patriotiſm ſtands at the head of ſocial affections; and ſtands ſo high in our eſteem, that no actions but what proceed from it are termed grand or heroic. When that affection appears ſo agreeable in contemplation, how ſweet, how elevating, muſt it be in thoſe whom it inſpires! Like vigorous health, it beats conſtantly with an equal pulſe: like the veſtal fire, it never is extinguiſhed. No ſource of enjoyment is more plentiful than patriotiſm, where it is the ruling paſſion: it triumphs over every ſelfiſh motive, and is a firm ſupport to every virtue. In fact, where-ever it prevails, the morals of the people are found to be pure and correct.

Theſe are illuſtrious effects of patriotiſm with reſpect to private happineſs and virtue; and yet its effects with reſpect to the public are ſtill more illuſtrious. A nation in no other period of its progreſs is ſo flouriſhing, as when patriotiſm is the ruling paſſion of every member: during that period, it is invincible. Atheneus remarks, that the Athenians were the only people in the world, who, tho' clothed in purple, put formidable armies to flight at Marathon, Salamine, and Platea. But at that period patriotiſm was their ruling paſſion; and ſucceſs attended them in every undertaking. Where patriotiſm rules, men do wonders, whatever garb they wear. The fall of Saguntum is a grand ſcene; a people exerting the utmoſt powers of nature, in defence of their country. The city was indeed deſtroyed; but the citizens were not ſubdued. The laſt effort of the remaining heroes was, to burn themſelves, with their wives and children, in one great funeral pile. Numantia affords a ſcene not leſs grand. The citizens, ſuch as were able to bear arms, did not exceed 8000; and yet braved all the efforts of 60,000 diſciplined ſoldiers commanded by Scipio

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 1. p. 113. edit. 5.

Naſica.

Naſica. So high was their character for intrepidity, that even when but a few of them were left alive, the Romans durſt not attempt to ſtorm the town. And they ſtood firm till, ſubdued by famine, they were no longer able to crawl. While the Portugueſe were eminent for patriotiſm, Lopez Caraſco, one of their ſea-captains, in a ſingle ſhip with but forty men, ſtumbled upon the King of Achin's fleet of twenty gallies, as many junks, and a multitude of ſmall veſſels. Reſolute to periſh rather than yield, he maintained the fight for three days, till his ſhip was pierced through and through with cannon-ſhot, and not a ſingle man left unwounded. And yet, after all, the King's fleet found it convenient to ſheer off.

Patriotiſm at the ſame time is the great bulwark of civil liberty; equally abhorrent of deſpotiſm on the one hand, and of licentiouſneſs on the other. While the deſpotic government of the Tudor family ſubſiſted, the Engliſh were too much depreſſed to have any affection for their country. But when manufactures and commerce began to flouriſh in the latter end of Eliſabeth's reign, a national ſpirit broke forth, and patriotiſm made ſome figure. That change of diſpoſition was perhaps the chief cauſe, tho' not the moſt viſible, of the national ſtruggles for liberty, which were frequent during the government of the Stewart family, and which ended in a free government at the Revolution.

Patriotiſm is too much cramped in a very ſmall ſtate, and too much relaxed in an extenſive monarchy. But that topic has already been diſcuſſed in the firſt ſketch of this book.

Patriotiſm is enflamed by a ſtruggle for liberty, by a civil war, by reſiſting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a ſtate into ſtrict union for the common intereſt. The reſolute oppoſition of the ſeven provinces to Philip II. of Spain, in the cauſe of liberty, is an illuſtrious inſtance of the patriotic ſpirit riſing to a degree of enthuſiaſm. Patriotiſm, rouſed

ſed among the Corſicans by the oppreſſion of the Genoeſe, exerted itſelf upon every proper object. Even during the heat of the war, they erected an univerſity for arts and ſciences, a national bank, and a national library; improvements that would not have been thought of in their torpid ſtate. Alas! they have fallen a victim to thirſt of power, not to ſuperior valour. Had Providence favoured them with ſucceſs, their figure would have been conſiderable in peace as in war *.

But violent commotions cannot be perpetual: one party prevails, and proſperity follows. What effect may this have on patriotiſm? I anſwer, that nothing is more animating than ſucceſs after a violent ſtruggle: a nation in that ſtate reſembles a comet, which in paſſing near the ſun, has been much heated, and continues full of motion. Patriotiſm made a capital figure among the Athenians, when they became a free people, after expelling the tyrant Piſiſtratus. Every man exerted himſelf for his country: every man endeavoured to excell thoſe who went before him: and hence a Miltiades, an Ariſtides, a Themiſtocles, names that for ever will figure in the annals of time. While the Roman republic was confined within narrow bounds, auſterity of manners, and diſintereſted love to their country, formed the national character. The elevation of the Patricians above the Plebeians, a

* The elevation of ſentiment that a ſtruggle for liberty inſpires, is conſpicuous in the following incident. A Corſican being condemned to die for an atrocious crime, his nephew with deep concern addreſſed Paoli in the following terms. "Sir, if "you pardon my uncle, his relations will give to the ſtate a thouſand zechins, be- "ſide furniſhing fifty ſoldiers during the ſiege of Furiali. Let him be baniſhed, "and he ſhall never return." Paoli, knowing the virtue of the young man, ſaid to him. "You are acquainted with the circumſtances of that caſe: I will conſent "to a pardon, if you can ſay, as an honeſt man, that it will be juſt or honourable "for Corſica." The young man, hiding his face, burſt into tears, ſaying, "I "would not have the honour of our country ſold for a thouſand zechins."

four

ſource of endleſs diſcord, was at laſt remedied by placing all the citizens upon a level. This ſignal revolution excited an animating emulation between the Patricians and Plebeians; the former, by heroic actions, labouring to maintain their ſuperiority; the latter ſtraining every nerve to equal them: the republic never at any other period produced ſo great men in the art of war.

But ſuch variety there is in human affairs, that tho' men are indebted to emulation for their heroic actions, yet actions of that kind never fail to ſuppreſs emulation in thoſe who follow. An obſervation is made above (*a*), that nothing is more fatal to the progreſs of an art, than a perſon of ſuperior genius, who damps emulation in others: witneſs the celebrated Newton, to whom the decay of mathematical knowledge in Britain is juſtly attributed. The obſervation holds equally with reſpect to action. Thoſe actions only that flow from patriotiſm are deemed grand and heroic; and ſuch actions, above all others, rouſe a national ſpirit. But beware of a Newton in heroiſm: inſtead of exciting emulation, he will damp it: deſpair to equal the great men who are the admiration of all men, puts an end to emulation. After the illuſtrious atchievements of Miltiades, and after the eminent patriotiſm of Ariſtides, we hear no more in Greece of emulation or of patriotiſm. Pericles was a man of parts, but he ſacrificed Athens to his ambition. The Athenians ſunk lower and lower under the Archons, who had neither parts nor patriotiſm; and were reduced at laſt to ſlavery, firſt by the Macedonians, and next by the Romans. The Romans run the ſame courſe, from the higheſt exertions of patriotic emulation, down to the moſt abject ſelfiſhneſs and effeminacy.

And this leads to other cauſes that extinguiſh patriotiſm, or relax it. Factious diſorders in a ſtate never fail to relax it; for

(*a*) Book 1. ſketch 5. § 1.

there the citizen is loſt, and every perſon is beheld in the narrow view of a friend or an enemy. In the conteſts between the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, the public was totally diſregarded: the Plebeians could have no heart-affection for a country where they were oppreſſed; and the Patricians might be fond of their own order, but they could not ſincerely love their country, while they were enemies to the bulk of their countrymen. Patriotiſm did not ſhine forth in Rome, till all equally became citizens.

To ſupport patriotiſm, it is neceſſary that a people be in a train of proſperity: when a nation becomes ſtationary, patriotiſm ſubſides. The ancient Romans upon a ſmall foundation erected a great empire; ſo great indeed, that it fell to pieces by its unwieldineſs. But the plurality of nations, whether from their ſituation, from the temper of their people, or from the nature of their government, are confined within narrower limits; beyond which their utmoſt exertions avail little, unleſs they happen to be extraordinary favourites of fortune. When a nation becomes thus ſtationary, its puſhing genius is at an end: its plan is to preſerve, not to acquire: the members, even without any example of heroiſm to damp emulation, are infected with the languid tone of the ſtate: patriotiſm ſubſides; and we hear no more of bold or heroic actions. The Venetians are a pregnant inſtance of the obſervation. Their trade with Aleppo and Alexandria did for centuries introduce into Europe the commodities of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Perſia, and India. The cities of Nuremberg and Augſburg in particular, were ſupplied from Venice with theſe commodities; and by that traffick became populous and opulent. Venice, in a word, was for centuries the capital trading town of Europe, and powerful above all its neighbours, both at ſea and land. A paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was indeed an animating diſcovery to the Portugueſe; but it did not entitle them to exclude the Venetians. The greater diſtance of Venice from

from the Cape, a trifle in itſelf, is more than balanced by its proximity to Greece, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and to the reſt of Italy. But the Portugueſe at that period were in the ſpring of proſperity; and patriotiſm envigorated them to make durable eſtabliſhments on the Indian coaſt, overpowering every nation that ſtood in oppoſition. The Venetians, on the contrary, being a nation of merchants, and having been long ſucceſsful in commerce, were become ſtationary, and unqualified for bold adventures. Being cut out of their wonted commerce to India, and not having reſolution to carry on commerce in a new channel, they ſunk under the good fortune of their rivals, and abandoned the trade altogether.

No cauſe hitherto mentioned hath ſuch influence in depreſſing patriotiſm, as inequality of rank and of riches in an opulent monarchy. A continual influx of wealth into the capital, generates ſhow, luxury, avarice, which are all ſelfiſh vices; and ſelfiſhneſs, enſlaving the mind, eradicates every fibre of patriotiſm *. Aſiatic luxury, flowing into Rome in a plentiful ſtream, produced an univerſal corruption of manners, and metamorphos'd into voluptuouſneſs the warlike genius of that great city. The dominions of Rome were now too extenſive for a republican government, and its generals too powerful to be diſintereſted. Paſſion for glory wore out of faſhion, as auſterity of manners had done formerly: power and riches were now the only objects of ambition: virtue ſeemed a farce; honour, a chimera; and fame, mere vanity: every Roman, abandoning himſelf to ſenſuality, flattered himſelf, that he, more wiſe than his forefathers, was purſuing the cunning road to happineſs. Corruption and venality became

* France is not an exception. The French are vain of their country, becauſe they are vain of themſelves. But ſuch vanity muſt be diſtinguiſhed from patriotiſm, which conſiſts in loving our country independent of ourſelves.

general,

general, and maintained their uſurpation in the provinces as well as in the capital, without ever loſing a foot of ground. Pyrrhus attempted by preſents to corrupt the Roman ſenators, but made not the ſlighteſt impreſſion. Deplorable was the change of manners in the days of Jugurtha: — "Pity it is," ſaid he, "that no "man is ſo opulent as to purchaſe a people ſo willing to be ſold." Cicero, mentioning an oracle of Apollo, that Sparta would never be deſtroy'd but by avarice, juſtly obſerves, that the prediction holds in every nation as well as in Sparta. The Greek empire, ſunk in voluptuouſneſs without a remaining ſpark of patriotiſm, was no match for the Turks, enflamed with a new religion, that promiſed paradiſe to thoſe who ſhould die fighting for their prophet. How many nations, like thoſe mentioned, illuſtrious formerly for vigour of mind, and love to their country, are now ſunk by contemptible vices as much below brutes as they ought to be elevated above them: brutes ſeldom deviate from the perfection of their nature, men frequently.

Succeſsful commerce is not more advantageous by the wealth and power it immediately beſtows, than it is hurtful ultimately by introducing luxury and voluptuouſneſs, which eradicate patriotiſm. In the capital of a great monarchy, the poiſon of opulence is ſudden; becauſe opulence there is ſeldom acquired by reputable means: the poiſon of commercial opulence is ſlow, becauſe commerce ſeldom enriches without induſtry, ſagacity, and fair dealing. But by whatever means acquired, opulence never fails ſoon or late to ſmother patriotiſm under ſenſuality and ſelfiſhneſs. We learn from Plutarch and other writers, that the Athenians, who had long enjoy'd the ſunſhine of commerce, were extremely corrupt in the days of Philip, and of his ſon Alexander. Even their chief patriot and orator, a profeſſed champion for independence, was not proof againſt bribes. While Alexander was proſecuting his conqueſts in India, Harpalus, to whom his immenſe treaſure

was

was intruſted, fled with the whole to Athens. Demoſthenes adviſed his fellow-citizens to expell him, that they might not incur Alexander's diſpleaſure. Among other things of value, there was the King's cup of maſſy gold, curiouſly engraved. Demoſthenes, ſurveying it with a greedy eye, aſked Harpalus what it weighed. To you, ſaid Harpalus ſmiling, it ſhall weigh twenty talents; and that every night he ſent privately to Demoſthenes twenty talents with the cup. Demoſthenes next day came into the aſſembly with a cloth rolled about his neck; and his opinion being demanded about Harpalus, he made ſigns that he had loſt his voice. The Capuans, the Tarentines, and other Greek colonies in the lower parts of Italy, when invaded by the Romans, were no leſs degenerate than their brethren in Greece when invaded by Philip of Macedon; the ſame depravation of manners, the ſame luxury, the ſame paſſion for feaſts and ſpectacles, the ſame inteſtine factions, the ſame indifference about their country, and the ſame contempt of its laws. The Portugueſe, enflamed with love to their country, when they diſcovered a paſſage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, made great and important ſettlements in that very diſtant part of the globe; and of their immenſe commerce there is no parallel in any age or country. Prodigious riches in gold, precious ſtones, ſpices, perfumes, drugs, and manufactures, were annually imported into Liſbon from their ſettlements on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, from the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, China, &c. from the iſlands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Moluccas, and Japan: and to Liſbon all the nations in Europe reſorted for theſe valuable commodities. But the downfall of the Portugueſe was no leſs rapid than their exaltation; unbounded power and immenſe wealth having produced a total corruption of manners. If ſincere piety, exalted courage, and indefatigable induſtry, made the original adventurers more than men; indolence, ſenſuality, and effeminacy, rendered

rendered their ſucceſſors leſs than women. Unhappy it was for them to be attacked at that critical time by the Dutch, who, in defence of liberty againſt the tyranny of Spain, were enflamed with love to their country, as the Potugueſe had been formerly *. The Dutch, originally from their ſituation a temperate and induſtrious people, became heroes in the cauſe of liberty as juſt now mentioned; and patriotiſm was their ruling paſſion. Proſperous commerce ſpred wealth through every corner; and yet ſuch was the inherent virtue of that people, that their patriotiſm reſiſted very long the contagion of wealth. But as appetite for riches increaſes with their quantity, patriotiſm ſunk in proportion, till it was totally extinguiſhed; and now the Dutch never think of their country, unleſs as ſubſervient to private intereſt. With reſpect to the Dutch Eaſt-India company in particular, it was indebted for its proſperity to the fidelity and frugality of its ſervants, and to the patriotiſm of all. But theſe virtues were undermined, and at laſt eradicated, by luxury, which Europeans ſeldom reſiſt in a hot climate. People go from Europe in the ſervice of the company, bent beforehand to make their fortune *per fas aut nefas*; and their diſtance from their maſters renders every check abortive. The company, eat up by their ſervants, is rendered ſo feeble, as to be incapable of maintaining their ground againſt any extraordinary ſhock. A war of any continuance with the Indian potentates, or with the Engliſh company, would reduce them to bank-

* While patriotiſm was the ruling paſſion of the Portugueſe, their illuſtrious general Don Alphonſo d' Albuquerque carried all before him in the Indies. He adhered to the ancient frugality of his countrymen, and notwithſtanding his great power and wealth, remained uncorrupted. Tho' liberal in praiſing his officers, he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour by flattery. In private life he was of the ſtricteſt honour; but as juſtice is little regarded between nations, it was no obſtruction to his ambitious views of extending the dominions of Portugal.

ruptcy.

ruptcy. They are at preſent as ripe for being ſwallowed up by any rival power, as the Portugueſe were formerly for being ſwallowed up by them. *Quæritur*, Is the Engliſh Eaſt-India company in a much better condition? Such is the riſe and fall of patriotiſm among the nations mentioned; and ſuch will be its riſe and fall among all nations in like circumſtances.

It grieves me, that the epidemic diſtempers of luxury and ſelfiſhneſs are ſpreading wide in Britain. It is fruitleſs to diſſemble, that profligate manners muſt in Britain be a conſequence of too great opulence, as they have been in every other part of the globe. Our late diſtractions leave no room for a doubt. Liſten to a man of figure, thoroughly acquainted with every machination for court-preferment. "Very little attachment is diſcoverable in the "body of our people to our excellent conſtitution: no reverence "for the cuſtoms nor for the opinions of our anceſtors; no at-"tachment but to private intereſt, nor any zeal but for ſelfiſh "gratifications. While party-diſtinctions of Whig and Tory, "high church and low church, court and country, ſubſiſted, "the nation was indeed divided, but each ſide held an opinion, "for which he would have hazarded every thing; for both acted "from principle: if there were ſome who ſought to alter the "conſtitution, there were many who would have ſpilt their blood "to preſerve it from violation: if divine hereditary right had its "partiſans, there were multitudes to ſtand up for the ſuperior "ſanctity of a title founded on an act of parliament, and the con-"ſent of a free people. But the abolition of party-names, have "deſtroy'd all public principles. The power of the crown was "indeed never more viſibly extenſive over the great men of the "nation; but then theſe men have loſt their influence over the "lower orders: even parliament has loſt much of its authority; "and the voice of the multitude is ſet up againſt the ſenſe of the "legiſlature: an impoveriſhed and heavily-burdened public, a

" people luxurious and licentious, impatient of rule, and deſpi-
" ſing all authority, government relaxed in every ſinew, and a
" corrupt ſelfiſh ſpirit pervading the whole (*a*)." It is a common obſervation, that when the belly is full, the mind is at eaſe. That obſervation, it would appear, holds not in London; for never in any other place did riot and licentiouſneſs riſe to ſuch a height, without a cauſe, and without even a plauſible pretext *.

It is deplorable, that in Engliſh public ſchools, patriotiſm makes no branch of education; young men, on the contrary, are trained up to ſelfiſhneſs. *Keep what you get, and get what you can*, is the chief leſſon inculcated at Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, and Eaton. Students put themſelves in the way of receiving vails from ſtrangers; and that dirty practice continues, tho' far more poiſonous to manners, than the giving vails to menial ſervants, which the nation is now aſhamed of. The Eaton ſcholars are at times ſent to the highway to rob paſſengers. The ſtrong without control tyrannize over the weak, ſubjecting them to every ſervile office, wiping ſhoes not excepted. They are permitted to trick and deceive one another; and the fineſt fellow is he who is the moſt artful. Friendſhip indeed is cultivated, but ſuch as we find among robbers: a boy would be run down, if he had no aſſociate. In a word, the moſt determined ſelfiſhneſs is the capital leſſon.

When a nation, formerly warlike and public-ſpirited, is depreſſed by luxury and ſelfiſhneſs, doth nature afford no means for reſtoring it to its former ſtate? The Emperor Hadrian declared the Greeks a free people; not doubting, but that a change ſo animating, would reſtore the fine arts to their priſtine luſtre.—A vain

(*a*) The Honourable George Greenville.

* This was compoſed in the year 1770.

attempt:

attempt: for the genius of the Greeks vaniſhed with their patriotiſm; and liberty to them was no bleſſing. With reſpect to the Portugueſe, the decay of their power and of their commerce, have reduced them to a much lower condition, than when they roſe as it were out of nothing. At that time they were poor, but innocent: at preſent they are poor, but corrupted with many vices. Their pride in particular ſwells as high as when maſters of the Indies. The following ridiculous inſtance is a pregnant proof: ſhoes and ſtockings are prohibited to their Indian ſubjects; tho' many of them would pay handſomely for the privilege. There is one obvious meaſure for reviving the Portugueſe trade in India; but they have not ſo much vigour of mind remaining, as even to think of execution. They ſtill poſſeſs in that country, the town and territory of Goa, the town and territory of Diu, with ſome other ports, all admirably ſituated for trade. What ſtands in the way but indolence merely, againſt declaring the places mentioned free ports, with liberty of conſcience to traders of whatever religion? Free traders flocking there, under protection of the Portugueſe, would undermine the Dutch and Engliſh companies, which cannot trade upon an equal footing with private merchants; and by that means, the Portugueſe trade might again flouriſh. But that people are not yet brought ſo low as to be compelled to change their manners, tho' reduced to depend on their neighbours even for common neceſſaries. The gold and diamonds of Braſil are a plague that corrupts all. Spain and Portugal afford inſtructive political leſſons: the latter has been ruined by opulence; the former, as will be ſeen afterward, by taxes no leſs impolitic than oppreſſive. To enable theſe nations to recommence their former courſe, or any nation in the ſame ſituation, I can diſcover no means but pinching poverty. Commerce and manufactures taking wing, may leave a country in a very diſtreſſed condition: but a people may be very diſtreſſed, and yet very vitious;

for vices generated by opulence are not ſoon eradicated. And tho' other vices ſhould at laſt vaniſh with the temptations that promoted them, indolence and puſillanimity will remain for ever, unleſs by ſome powerful cauſe the oppoſite virtues be introduced. A very poor man, however indolent, will be tempted for bread to exert ſome activity; and he may be trained gradually from leſs to more by the ſame means. Activity at the ſame time produces bodily ſtrength; which will reſtore courage and boldneſs. By ſuch means a nation may be put in motion with the ſame advantages it had originally; and its ſecond progreſs may prove as ſucceſsful as the firſt. Thus nations go round in a circle, from weakneſs to ſtrength, and from ſtrength to weakneſs. The firſt part of the progreſs is verified in a thouſand inſtances; but the world has not ſubſiſted long enough to afford any clear inſtance of the other.

I cloſe this ſketch with two illuſtrious examples of patriotiſm; one ancient, one modern; one among the whites, and one among the blacks. Ariſtides the Athenian is famed above all the ancients for love to his country. Its ſafety and honour were the only objects of his ambition; and his ſignal diſintereſtedneſs made it the ſame to him, whether theſe ends were accompliſhed by himſelf or by others, by his friends or his foes. One conſpicuous inſtance occurred before the battle of Marathon. Of the ten generals choſen to command the Athenian army, he was one: but ſenſible that a divided command is ſubjected to manifold inconveniencies, he exerted all his influence for delegating the whole power to Miltiades; and at the ſame time zealouſly ſupported the propoſal of Miltiades, of boldly meeting the Perſians in the field. His diſintereſtedneſs was ſtill more conſpicuous with regard to Themiſtocles, his bitter enemy. Suſpending all enmity, he cordially agreed with him in every operation of the war; aſſiſting him with his counſel and credit, and yet ſuffering him to engroſs all the honours of victory. In peace he was the ſame, yielding to Themiſtocles

miſtocles in the adminiſtration of government, and contenting himſelf with a ſubordinate place. In the ſenate and in the aſſembly of the people, he made many propoſals in a borrowed name, to prevent envy and oppoſition. He retired from public buſineſs in the latter part of his life; paſſing his time in training young men for ſerving the ſtate, inſtilling into them principles of honour and virtue, and inſpiring them with love to their country. His death unfolded a ſignal proof of the contempt he had for riches: he who had been treaſurer of Greece during the laviſhment of war, left not ſufficient to defray the expence of his funerals: a Britiſh commiſſary in like circumſtances, acquires the riches of Cræſus.

The ſcene of the other example is Fouli, a negro kingdom in Africa. Such regard is paid there to royal blood, that no man can ſucceed to the crown, but who is connected with the firſt monarch, by an uninterrupted chain of females: a connection by males would give no ſecurity, as the women of that country are prone to gallantry. In the laſt century, the Prince of Sambaboa, the King's nephew by his ſiſter, was inveſted with the dignity of Kamalingo, a dignity appropriated to the preſumptive heir. A liberal and generous mind, with undaunted courage, rivetted him in the affections of the nobility and people. They rejoiced in the expectation of having him for their King. But their expectation was blaſted. The King, fond of his children, ventured a bold meaſure, which was, to inveſt his eldeſt ſon with the dignity of Kamalingo, and to declare him heir to the crown. Tho' the Prince of Sambaboa had for him the laws of the kingdom, and the hearts of the people, yet he retired in ſilence to avoid a civil war. He could not however prevent men of rank from flocking to him; which the King interpreting to be a rebellion, raiſed an army in order to put them all to the ſword. As the King advanced, the Prince retired, reſolving not to draw his ſword

ſword againſt an uncle, whom he was accuſtomed to call father. But finding that the command of the King's army was beſtowed on his rival, he made ready for battle. The Prince obtained a complete victory: but his heart was not elated: the horrors of a civil war ſtared him in the face: he bid farewell to his friends, diſmiſſed his army, and retired into a neighbouring kingdom; relying on the affections of the people to be placed on the throne after his uncle's death. During baniſhment, which continued thirty tedious years, frequent attempts upon his life, put his temper to a ſevere trial; for while he exiſted, the King had no hopes that his ſon would reign in peace. He had the fortitude to ſtand every trial; when, in the year 1702, beginning to yield to age and misfortunes, his uncle died. His couſin was depoſed; and he was called by the unanimous voice of the nobles, to reign over a people who adored him.

SKETCH

SKETCH VIII.

FINANCES.

PREFACE.

IN the following ſlight eſſay, intended for novices only, it is my ſole ambition to rival certain pains-taking authors, who teach hiſtory in the perſpicuous mode of queſtion and anſwer. Among novices, it would be unpardonable to rank ſuch of my fellow-citizens, as are ambitious of a ſeat in parliament; many of whom ſacrifice the inheritance of their anceſtors, for an opportunity to exert their patriotiſm in that auguſt aſſembly. Can ſuch a ſacrifice permit me to doubt, of their being adepts in the myſteries of government, and of taxes in particular? they ought at leaſt to be initiated in theſe myſteries.

It is of importance, that taxes, and their effects, be underſtood, not only by the members of our parliament, but alſo by their electors: a repreſentative will not readily vote for a deſtructive tax, when he cannot hope to diſguiſe his conduct. The intention of the preſent ſketch, is to unfold the principles upon which taxes ought to be founded, and to point out what are beneficial, what noxious. I have endeavoured to introduce ſome light into a ſubject involved in Egyptian darkneſs; and if that end be attained, I ſhall die in the faith, that I have not been an unprofitable ſervant to my country.

FINANCES.

THIS ſubject conſiſts of many parts, not a little intricate. A proper diſtribution will tend to perſpicuity; and I think it may be fitly divided into the following ſections. 1ſt, General conſiderations on taxes. 2d, Power of impoſing taxes. 3d, Different ſorts of taxes, with their advantages and diſadvantages. 4th, Manner of levying taxes. 5th, Rules to be obſerved in taxing. 6th, Examination of Britiſh taxes. 7th, Regulations for advancing induſtry and commerce.

SECTION I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS on TAXES.

AS opulence is not friendly to ſtudy and knowledge, the men beſt qualified for being generals, admirals, judges, or miniſters of ſtate, are ſeldom opulent; and to make ſuch men ſerve without pay, would be in effect to eaſe the rich at the expence of the poor. With reſpect to the military branch in particular, the bulk of thoſe who compoſe an army, if withdrawn from daily labour, muſt ſtarve, unleſs the public, which they ſerve, afford them maintenance. A republican government, during peace, may indeed be ſupported at a very ſmall charge among a temperate and patriotic people.

people. In a monarchy, a public fund is indiſpenſable, even during peace: and in war it is indiſpenſable, whatever be the government. The Spartans carried all before them in Greece, but were forc'd to quit their hold, having no fund for a ſtanding army; and the other Greek ſtates were obliged to confederate with the Athenians, who after the Perſian war became maſters at ſea. A defect ſo obvious in the Spartan government, did aſſuredly not eſcape Lycurgus, the moſt profound of all legiſlators. Foreſeeing that conqueſt would be deſtructive to his countrymen, his ſole purpoſe was to guard them from being conquered; which in Sparta required no public fund, as all the citizens were equal, and equally bound to defend themſelves and their country. A ſtate, it is true, without a public fund, is ill qualified to oppoſe a ſtanding army, regularly diſciplined, and regularly paid. But in political matters, experience is our only ſure guide; and the hiſtory of nations, at that early period, was too barren to afford inſtruction. Lycurgus may well be excuſed, conſidering how little progreſs political knowledge had made in a much later period. Charles VII. of France was the firſt in modern times who eſtabliſhed a fund for a ſtanding army. Againſt that dangerous innovation, the crown-vaſſals had no reſource but to imitate their ſovereign; and yet, without even dreaming of a reſource, they ſuffered themſelves to be undermined, and at laſt overturned, by the King their ſuperior. Thus, on the one hand, a nation, however warlike, that has not a public fund, is no match for a ſtanding army enured to war. Extenſive commerce, on the other hand, enables a nation to ſupport a ſtanding army; but, by introducing luxury, it eradicates manhood, and renders that army an unfit match for any poor and warlike invader. Hard may ſeem the fate of nations, laid thus open to deſtruction from every quarter. All that can be ſaid is, that the Deity never intended to ſtamp immortality upon any production of man.

The ſtability of land fits it, above all other ſubjects, for a public patrimony. But as crown-lands lie open to the rapacity of favourites, it becomes neceſſary, when theſe are diſſipated, to introduce taxes; which have the following properties; that they unite in one common intereſt the ſovereign and his ſubjects, and that they can be augmented or diminiſhed according to exigencies.

The art of levying money by taxes was ſo little underſtood in the ſixteenth century, that after the famous battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made priſoner, Charles V. was obliged to diſband his victorious army, tho' conſiſting but of 24,000 men, becauſe he had not the art to levy, in his extenſive dominions, the ſum that was neceſſary to keep it on foot. So little knowledge was there in England of political arithmetic in the days of Edward III. that L. 1 : 2 : 4 on each pariſh was computed to be ſufficient for raiſing a ſubſidy of L. 50,000. It being found, that there were but 8700 pariſhes, excluſive of Wales, the parliament, in order to raiſe the ſaid ſubſidy, aſſeſſed on each pariſh L. 5, 16 s.

In impoſing taxes, ought not the expence of living to be deducted, leaving the remainder of a man's ſtock as the only taxable ſubject? This method was adopted in the ſtate of Athens. A rent of 500 meaſures of corn, burdened the landlord with the yearly contribution of a talent: a rent of 300, burdened him with half a talent: a rent of 200, burdened him with the ſixth part of a talent; and land under that rent paid no tax. Here the tax was not in proportion to the eſtate, but to what could be ſpared out of it; or, in other words, in proportion to the ability of the proprietor. At the ſame time, ability muſt not be eſtimated by what a man actually ſaves, which would exempt the profuſe and profligate from paying taxes, but by what a man can pay who lives with economy according to his rank. This rule is founded on the very nature of government: to tax a man's food, or the ſubject that affords

fords him bare neceſſaries, is worſe than the denying him protection: it ſtarves him. Hence the following propoſition may be laid down as the corner-ſtone of taxation-building, "That every man ought "to contribute to the public revenue, not in proportion to his "ſubſtance, but to his ability." I am ſorry to obſerve, that this rule is little regarded in Britiſh taxes; tho' nothing would contribute more to ſweeten the minds of the people, and to make them fond of their government, than a regulation fraught with ſo much equity.

Taxes were long in uſe before it was diſcovered, that they could be made ſubſervient to other purpoſes, beſide that of ſupporting government. In the fifteenth century, the ſtates of Burgundy rejected with indignation a demand made by the Duke of a duty on ſalt, tho' they found no other objection, but that it would oppreſs the poor people, who lived moſtly on ſalt meat and ſalt fiſh. It did not occur to them, that ſuch a tax might hurt their manufactures, by raiſing the price of labour. A tax of two ſhillings on every hearth, known by the name of *hearth-money*, was granted to Charles II. his heirs and ſucceſſors, for ever. It was abrogated by an act of William and Mary, ann. 1688, on the following preamble, "That it is not only a great oppreſſion upon the "poorer ſort, but a badge of ſlavery upon the whole people, ex-"poſing every man's houſe to be entered into and ſearched at "pleaſure by perſons unknown to him." Had the harm done by ſuch a tax to our manufactures been at that time underſtood, it would have been urged as the capital reaſon againſt the tax. Our late improvements in commercial politics have unfolded an important doctrine, That taxes are ſeldom indifferent to the public good; that frequently they are more oppreſſive to the people, than beneficial to the ſovereign; and, on the other hand, that they may be ſo contrived, as to rival bounties in promoting induſtry, ma-

nufactures, and commerce. Theſe different effects of taxes, have rendered the ſubject not a little intricate.

It is an article of importance in government, to have it aſcertained, what proportion of the annual income of a nation may be drawn from the people by taxes, without impoveriſhing them. An eighth part is held to be too much: huſbandry, commerce, and population, would ſuffer. Davenant ſays, that the Dutch pay to the public annually the fourth part of the income of their country; and he adds, that their ſtrict economy enables them to bear that immenſe load, without raiſing the price of labour ſo high as to cut them out of the foreign market. It was probably ſo in the days of Davenant; but of late matters are much altered: the dearneſs of living and of labour, has excluded all the Dutch manufactures from the foreign market. Till the French war in King William's reign, England paid in taxes but about a twentieth part of its annual income.

SECT. II.

POWER of IMPOSING TAXES.

THat to impoſe taxes belongs to the ſovereign, and to him only, is undoubted. But it has been doubted, whether even King and parliament, who poſſeſs the ſovereign authority in Britain, can legally impoſe a tax without conſent of the people. The celebrated Locke, in his eſſay on government (*a*), lays down the following propoſition as fundamental. " 'Tis true, governments

(*a*) Chap. 11. § 140.

" cannot

" cannot be ſupported without great charge, and 'tis fit every one " who enjoys his ſhare of protection ſhould pay out of his eſtate " his proportion for the maintenance of it. But ſtill it muſt be " with his own conſent, *i. e.* the conſent of the majority, giving " it either by themſelves, or their repreſentatives choſen by them; " for if any one ſhall claim a power to lay and levy taxes on the " people by his own authority, and without ſuch conſent of the " people, he thereby invades the fundamental law of property, " and ſubverts the end of government. For what property have " I in that which another may by right take when he pleaſes to " himſelf?" No author has reflected more honour on his native country, and on mankind, than Mr Locke. Yet no name is above truth; and I am obliged to obſerve, tho' with regret, that in the foregoing reaſoning the right of impoſing taxes is laid upon a very crazy foundation. It may indeed be ſaid with ſome colour, that the freeholders virtually impower their repreſentatives to tax them. But their vaſſals and tenants, who have no vote in electing members of parliament, empower none to tax them: yet they are taxed like others; and ſo are the vaſſals and tenants of peers. Add to theſe an immenſe number of artiſans, manufacturers, day-labourers, domeſtics, &c. &c. with the whole female ſex; and it will appear on calculation, that thoſe who are repreſented in parliament make not the hundredth part of the taxable people. But further, it is acknowledged by our author, that the majority of the Lords and Commons muſt bind the minority. This circumſtance alone might have convinced him of his error: for ſurely the minority in this caſe are bound without their conſent; nay, againſt their conſent. That a ſtate cannot tax its ſubjects without their conſent, is a raſh propoſition, totally ſubverſive of government. Locke himſelf has ſuggeſted the ſolid foundation of taxes, tho' inadvertently he lays no weight on it. I borrow his own words: " That every one who enjoys his ſhare of protection, ſhould pay

" out

" out of his eſtate his proportion for the maintenance of the go-
" vernment." The duties of ſovereign and of ſubject are reciprocal; and common juſtice requires, that a ſubject, or any perſon who is protected by a government, ought to pay for that protection. Similar inſtances without number of ſuch reciprocal duties, occur in the laws of every civilized nation. A man calls for meat and drink in a tavern: is he not bound to pay the bill, tho' he made no agreement beforehand? A man is wafted over a river in a ferry-boat: muſt he not pay the common fare, though he made no promiſe? Nay, it is every man's intereſt to pay for protection: government cannot ſubſiſt without a public fund; and what will become of individuals when no longer protected, either in their perſons or goods? Thus taxes are implied in the very nature of government; and the interpoſition of ſovereign authority is only neceſſary for determining the expediency of a tax; and the quota, if found expedient.

Many writers, miſled by the reſpectable authority of Locke, boldly maintain, that a Britiſh parliament cannot legally tax the American colonies, who are not repreſented in parliament. This propoſition, which has drawn the attention of the public of late years, has led me to be more explicit on the power of impoſing taxes, than otherwiſe would be neceſſary. Thoſe who favour the independence of our colonies urge, " That a man ought to have
" the diſpoſal of what he acquires by honeſt induſtry, ſubject to
" no control: whence the neceſſity of a parliament for impoſing
" taxes, where every individual is either perſonally preſent, or by
" a repreſentative of his own election. The aid accordingly given
" to a Britiſh ſovereign is not a tribute, but a free and voluntary
" gift." What is ſaid above will bring the diſpute within a very narrow compaſs. If our coloniſts be Britiſh ſubjects, which hitherto has not been controverted, they are ſubjected to the Britiſh legiſlature in every article of government; and as from the beginning

ning they have been protected by Britain, they ought like other ſubjects to pay for that protection. There never was a time leſs favourable to their claim of freedom from taxes, than the cloſe of the late war with France. Had not Britain ſeaſonably interpoſed, they would have been ſwallow'd up by France, and become ſlaves to deſpotiſm.

If it be queſtioned, By what acts is a man underſtood to claim protection of a government; I anſwer, By ſetting his foot on the territory. If, upon landing at Dover, a foreigner be robbed, the law interpoſes for him as for a native. And as he is thus protected, he pays for protection when he purchaſes a pair of ſhoes, or a bottle of beer. The caſe is clear with reſpect to a man who can chuſe the place of his reſidence. But what ſhall be ſaid of children, who are not capable of choice, nor of conſent? They are protected; and protection implies the reciprocal duty of paying taxes. As ſoon as a young man is capable of acting for himſelf, he is at liberty to chuſe other protectors, if thoſe who have hitherto protected him be not agreeable.

If a legal power to impoſe taxes without conſent of the people, did neceſſarily imply a legal power to impoſe taxes at pleaſure, without limitation, Locke's argument would be invincible, in a country of freedom at leaſt. A power to impoſe taxes at pleaſure, would indeed be an invaſion of the fundamental law of property; becauſe, under pretext of taxing, it would ſubject every man's property to the arbitrary will of the ſovereign. But the argument has no weight, where the ſovereign's power is limited. The reciprocal duties between ſovereign and ſubject imply, that the people ought to contribute what ſums are neceſſary for the ſupport of government, and that the ſovereign ought not to demand more. It is true, that there is no regular check againſt him, when he tranſgreſſes his duty in this particular: but there is an effectual check in the nature of every government that is not legally deſpotic, viz. a general

neral concert among all ranks, to vindicate their liberty againſt a courſe of violence and oppreſſion; and multiplied acts of that kind have more than once brought about ſuch a concert.

As every member of the body-politic is under protection of the government, every one of them, as obſerved above, ought to pay for being protected; and yet this propoſition has been controverted by an author of ſome note (*a*); who maintains, "That the "food and raiment furniſhed to the ſociety by huſbandmen and "manufacturers, are all that theſe good people are bound to con-"tribute: and ſuppoſing them bound to contribute more, it is "not till others have done as much for the public." At that rate, lawyers and phyſicians ought alſo to be exempted from contributing; eſpecially thoſe who draw the greateſt ſums, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to do the moſt good. That argument, the ſuggeſtion of a benevolent heart, is however no proof of an enlightened underſtanding. The labours of the farmer, of the lawyer, of the phyſician, contribute not a mite to the public fund, nor tend to defray the expence of government. The luxurious proprietor of a great eſtate has a ſtill better title to be exempted than the huſbandman, becauſe he is a great benefactor to the public, by giving bread to a variety of induſtrious people. In a word, every man ought to contribute for being protected; and if a huſbandman be protected in working for himſelf one-and-fifty weeks yearly, he ought thankfully to work one week more, for defraying the expence of that protection.

(*a*) L'ami des hommes.

SECT.

SECT. III.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF TAXES, with their Advantages and Diſadvantages.

ALL taxes are laid upon perſons; but in different reſpects: a tax laid on a man perſonally, for himſelf and family, is termed a *capitation-tax*; a tax laid on him for his property, is termed a *tax on goods*. The latter is the only rational tax, becauſe it may be proportioned to the ability of the proprietor. It has only one inconvenience, that his debts muſt be overlooked; becauſe to take theſe into the account, would lead to endleſs intricacies. But there is an obvious remedy for that inconvenience: let the man who complains, get quit of his debts, by ſelling land or moveables; which will ſo far relieve him of the tax. Nor ought this meaſure to be conſidered as a hardſhip: it is ſeldom the intereſt of a landholder to be in debt; and with reſpect to the public, the meaſure not only promotes the circulation of property, but is favourable to creditors, by procuring them payment. A capitation-tax goes upon an erroneous principle, as if all men were of equal ability. What prompts it is, that many men, rich in bonds and other moveables that can be eaſily hid from public inſpection, cannot be reached otherwiſe than by a capitation-tax. But as, by the very ſuppoſition, ſuch men cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the maſs of the people, that mode of taxing, as miſerably unequal, is rarely practiſed among enlightened nations. Some years ago, a capitation-tax was impoſed in Denmark, obliging even day-labourers to pay for their wives and children. Upon the

ſame abſurd plan, a tax was impoſed on marriage. One would be tempted to think, that population was intended to be diſcouraged. The Daniſh government, however, have been ſenſible of the impropriety of ſuch taxes; for a tax impoſed on thoſe who obtain titles of honour from the crown, is applied for relieving huſbandmen of their capitation-tax. But a tax of this kind lies open to many other objections. It cannot fail to raiſe the price of labour, a poiſonous effect in a country of induſtry; for the labourer will relieve himſelf of the tax, by heightening his wages: more prudent it would be to lay the tax directly on the employer, which would remove the pretext for heightening wages. The taxing of day-labourers has beſide an effect contrary to what is intended: inſtead of increaſing the public revenue, it virtually leſſens it, by raiſing the pay of ſoldiers, ſailors, and of every workman employ'd by government.

Taxes upon goods are of two kinds, viz. upon things conſumable, and upon things not conſumable. I begin with the latter. The land-tax in Britain, paid by the proprietor according to an invariable rule, and levied with very little expence, is of all taxes the moſt juſt, and the moſt effectual. The proprietor, knowing beforehand the ſum he is ſubjected to, prepares accordingly: and as each proprietor contributes in proportion to his eſtate, the tax makes no variation in their relative opulence. The only improvement it is ſuſceptible of, is the Athenian regulation, of exempting ſmall eſtates that are no more than ſufficient to afford bread to the frugal proprietor. In France, the land-tax ſeems to have been eſtabliſhed on a very falſe foundation, viz. That the clergy perform their duty to the ſtate, by praying and inſtructing; that the nobleſſe fight for the ſtate; and conſequently, that the only duty left to the farmer, is to defray the charges of government. This argument would hold, if the clergy were not paid for praying, and the nobleſſe for fighting. Such a load upon the pooreſt members

bers of the ſtate, is an abſurdity in politics. And to render it ſtill more abſurd, the tax on the farmer is not impoſed by an invariable rule: every one is taxed in proportion to his apparent circumſtances, which in effect is to tax induſtry. Nor is this all. Under pretext of preventing famine, the exporting of corn, even from province to province, is frequently interrupted; by which it happens, that the corn of a plentiful year is deſtroyed by inſects, and in a year of ſcarcity is engroſſed by merchants. Suppoſe a plan were requeſted for diſcouraging agriculture, here is one actually put in execution, the ſucceſs of which is infallible. "Were it related," obſerves a French writer, "in ſome foreign hiſtory, that there is "a country extremely fertile, in a fine climate, enjoying navi- "gable rivers, with every advantage for the commerce of corn; "and yet that the product is not ſufficient for the inhabitants: "would not one conclude the people to be ſtupid and barbarous? "This however is the caſe of France." He adds the true reaſon, which is, the diſcouragement huſbandry lies under by oppreſſive taxes. We have Diodorus Siculus for our authority, that the huſbandman was greatly reſpected in Hindoſtan. Among other nations, ſays he, the land during war lies untilled; but in Hindoſtan, huſbandmen are ſacred, and no ſoldier ventures to lay a hand on them. They are conſidered as ſervants of the public, who cannot be diſpenſed with.

It is a groſs error to maintain, that a tax on land is the ſame with a tax on the product of land. The former, which is the Engliſh mode, is no diſcouragement to induſtry and improvements: on the contrary, the higher the value of land is raiſed, the leſs will the tax be in proportion. The latter, which is the French mode, is a great diſcouragement to induſtry and improvements; becauſe the more a man improves, the deeper he is taxed. The tenth part of the product of land, is the only tax that is paid in China. This tax, of the ſame nature with our tithes paid to the

clergy, yields to the Britiſh mode of taxing the land itſelf, and not its product; but is leſs exceptionable than the land-tax in France, becauſe it is not arbitrary. The Chineſe tax, paid in kind, is ſtored in magazines, and ſold from time to time for maintaining the magiſtrates and the army, the ſurplus being remitted to the treaſury. In caſe of famine, it is ſold to the poor people at a moderate price. In Tonquin, there is a land-tax, which, like that in France, is laid upon the peaſants, exempting people of condition, and the literati in particular. Many grounds that bear not corn, contribute hay for the king's elephants and cavalry; which the poor peaſants are obliged to carry to the capital, even from the greateſt diſtance; a regulation no leſs ſlaviſh than impolitic.

The window-tax, the coach-tax, and the plate-tax, come under the preſent head, being taxes upon things not conſumable. In Holland there is a tax on domeſtic ſervants, which deſerves well to be imitated. Vanity in Britain, and love of ſhow, have multiplied domeſtics, far beyond neceſſity, and even beyond convenience. A number of idlers collected in a luxurious family, become vitious and debauched; and many uſeful hands are withdrawn from huſbandry and manufactures. In order that the tax may reach none but the vain and ſplendid, thoſe who have but one ſervant pay nothing: two domeſtics ſubject the maſter to five ſhillings for each, three to ten ſhillings for each, four to twenty ſhillings, five to forty ſhillings, and ſo on in a geometrical progreſſion. In Denmark, a farmer is taxed for every plough he uſes. If the tax be intended for diſcouraging extenſive farms, it is a happy contrivance, agreeable to ſound politics; for ſmall farms tend not only to population, but to rear a temperate and robuſt ſpecies of men, fit for every ſort of labour.

Next of taxes upon things conſumable. The taxes that appear the leaſt oppreſſive, becauſe diſguiſed, are what are laid on our manufactures:

manufactures: the tax is advanced by the manufacturer, and drawn from the purchaſer as part of the price. In Rome a tax was laid upon every man who purchaſed a ſlave. It is reported by ſome authors, that the tax was remitted by the Emperor Nero; and yet no alteration was made, but to oblige the vender to advance the tax. Hear Tacitus on that ſubject (*a*). "Vectigal "quintæ et viceſimæ venalium mancipiorum remiſſum, ſpecie "magis quam vi; quia cum venditor pendere juberetur, in par- "tem pretii emptoribus accreſcebat *." Thus, with reſpect to our taxes on ſoap, ſhoes, candles, and other things conſumable, the purchaſer thinks he is only paying the price, and never dreams that he is paying a tax. To ſupport the illuſion, the duty ought to be moderate: to impoſe a tax twenty times the value of the commodity, as is done in France with reſpect to ſalt, raiſes more diſguſt in the people as an attempt to deceive them, than when laid on without diſguiſe. Such exorbitant taxes, which are paid with the utmoſt reluctance, cannot be made effectual but by ſevere penalties, equal to what are inflicted on the moſt atrocious criminals; which has a bad effect with reſpect to morals, as it tends to leſſen the horror one naturally conceives at great crimes.

Such taxes are attended with another ſignal advantage: they bear a ſtrict proportion to the ability of the contributors, the opulent being commonly the greateſt conſumers. The taxes on coaches and on plate are paid by men of fortune, without loading the induſtrious poor; and on that account are highly to be

* "The tax of a twenty-fifth upon ſlaves to be ſold, was remitted more in ap- "pearance than in reality; becauſe when the ſeller was ordered to pay it, he laid "it upon the price to the buyer."

(*a*) Annal. lib. 13.

praiſed:

praiſed: being impoſed however without diſguiſe, they are paid with more reluctance by the rich, than taxes on conſumption are by the poor.

I add one other advantage of taxes on conſumption. They are finely contrived to connect the intereſt of the ſovereign with that of his ſubjects; for his profit ariſes from their proſperity.

Such are the advantages of a tax on conſumption; but it muſt not be praiſed, as attended with no inconvenience. The retailer, under pretext of the tax, raiſes the price higher than barely to indemnify himſelf; by which means the tax is commonly doubled upon the conſumer. The inconvenience however is but temporary. "Such extortion," ſays Davenant, "cannot laſt "long; for every commodity in common uſe finds in the mar-"ket its true value and price."

There is another inconvenience much more diſtreſſing, becauſe it admits not a remedy, and becauſe it affects the ſtate itſelf. Taxes on conſumption, being commonly laid on things of the greateſt uſe, raiſe a great ſum to the public, without much burdening individuals; the duty on coal, for example, on candle, on leather, on ſoap, on ſalt, on malt, and on malt-liquor. Theſe duties however carry in their boſom a ſlow poiſon, by raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures. De Wit obſerves, that the Dutch taxes upon conſumption have raiſed the price of their broad cloth forty *per cent.*; and our manufactures by the ſame means are raiſed at leaſt thirty *per cent.* Britain has long laboured under this chronical diſtemper, which, by excluding her from foreign markets, will not only put an end to her own manufactures, but will open a wide door to the foreign, as ſmuggling cannot be prevented where commodities imported are much cheaper than our own.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that taxes on conſumption are not equally proper in every ſituation. They are proper in a popu-

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lous country, like Holland; becauſe the expence of collecting is but a trifle, compared with the ſums collected. But in a country thinly peopled, ſuch taxes are improper; becauſe the expence of collecting makes too great a proportion of the ſums collected: in the highlands of Scotland, the exciſe on ale and ſpirits defrays not the expence of levying; the people are burdened, and the government is not ſupported.

A lottery is a ſort of tax different from any that have been mentioned. It is a tax, of all the moſt agreeable, being entirely voluntary. An appetite for gaming, inherent even in ſavages, prompts multitudes to venture their money in hopes of the higheſt prize; tho' they cannot altogether hide from themſelves the inequality of the play. But lucky it is, that the ſelfiſh paſſions of men can be made ſubſervient to the public good. Lotteries however produce one unhappy effect: they blunt the edge of induſtry, by directing the attention to a more compendious method of gain. At the ſame time, the money acquired by a lottery, ſeldom turns to account; for what comes without trouble, goes commonly without thought.

SECT. IV.

MANNER OF LEVYING TAXES.

TO avoid the rapacity of farmers, a mild government will, in moſt caſes, prefer management; i. e. it will levy taxes by officers appointed for that purpoſe. Monteſquieu (*a*) has handled that point with his uſual ſprightly elegance.

(*a*) L'Eſprit des loix, liv. 13. ch. 19.

Importation-

Importation-duties are commonly laid upon the importer before the cargo is landed, leaving him to add the duty to the price of the goods; and the facility of levying, is the motive for preferring that method. But is it not hard, that the importer ſhould be obliged to advance a great ſum in name of duty, before drawing a ſhilling by the ſale of his goods? It is not only hard, but groſsly unjuſt: for if the goods periſh without being ſold, the duty is loſt to the importer; he has no claim againſt the public for reſtitution. This has more the air of deſpotiſm than of a free government. Would it not be more equitable, that the goods ſhould be lodged in a public warehouſe, under cuſtody of revenue-officers, the importer paying the duty as goods are ſold? According to the preſent method, the duty remains with the collector three years, in order to be repaid to the importer, if the goods be exported within that time: but by the method propoſed, the duty would be paid to the treaſury as goods are ſold, which might be within a month from the time of importation, perhaps a week; and the treaſury would profit, as well as the fair trader. There are public warehouſes adjoining to the cuſtomhouſe of Bourdeaux, where the ſugars of the French colonies are depoſited, till the importer finds a market; and he pays the duty gradually as ſales are made. It rejoices me, that the ſame method is practiſed in this iſland with reſpect to ſome foreign articles neceſſary in our trade with Africa: the duty is not demanded till the goods are ſhipped for that continent. It is alſo put in practice with reſpect to foreign ſalt, and with reſpect to rum imported from our ſugar-colonies.

Beſide the equity of what is here propoſed, which relieves the importer from advance of money, and from riſk, many other advantages would be derived from it. In the firſt place, the merchant, having no occaſion to reſerve any portion of his capital for anſwering the duty, would be enabled to commence trade with a

ſmall

ſmall ſtock, or to encreaſe his trade if his ſtock be large: trade would flouriſh, and the public revenue would encreaſe in proportion. Secondly, It would leſſen ſmuggling. Many a one who commences trade with upright intention, is tempted to ſmuggle for want of ready money to pay the duty. Thirdly, This manner of levying the duty, would not only abridge the number of officers, but remove every pretext for claiming diſcount on pretence of leakage, ſamples, and the drying or ſhrinking of goods. In the preſent manner of levying, that diſcount muſt be left to the diſcretion of the officer: a private underſtanding is thus introduced between him and the merchant, hurtful to the revenue, and deſtructive to morals. Fourthly, The merchant would be enabled to lower his prices, and be forc'd to lower them by having many rivals; which at the ſame time would give acceſs to augment importation-duties, without raiſing the price of foreign commodities above what it is at preſent. But the capital advantage of all would be, to render in effect every port in Britain a free port, enabling Engliſh merchants, many of whom have great capitals, to outſtrip foreigners in what is termed *a commerce of ſpeculation*. This iſland is well ſituated for ſuch commerce; and were our ports free, the productions of all climates would be ſtored up in them, ready for exportation when a market offers; an excellent plan for encreaſing our ſhipping, and for producing boundleſs wealth.

SECT. V.

RULES TO BE OBSERVED in TAXING.

THE different objects of taxes, and the intricacy thereby occaſioned, require general rules, not only for directing the legiſlature in impoſing them, but for enabling others to judge what are beneficial, and what hurtful.

The firſt rule I ſhall ſuggeſt is, That where-ever there is an opportunity of ſmuggling, taxes ought to be moderate; for ſmuggling can never effectually be reſtrained, where the cheapneſs of imported goods is in effect an enſurance againſt the riſk; in which view, Swift humorouſly obſerves, that two and two do not always make four. A duty of 15 *per cent.* upon printed linen imported into France, encourages ſmuggling: a lower duty would produce a greater ſum to the public, and be more beneficial to the French manufacturer. Bone-lace imported into France is charged with a duty of 20 *per cent.* in order to favour that manufacture at home: but in vain; for bone-lace is eaſily ſmuggled, and the price is little higher than before. The high duty on *ſuccus liquoritiæ* imported into Britain, being L. 7 : 2 : 6 *per* hundred weight, was a great encouragement to ſmuggling; for which reaſon it is reduced to 30 s. *per* hundred weight (*a*).

The ſmuggling of tea, which extracts great ſums from Britain, is much encouraged by its high price at home. As far as I can judge, it would be profitable, both to the public and to individuals, to lay aſide the importation-duty, and to ſubſtitute in its

(*a*) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47.

ſtead

ſtead a duty on the conſumer. Freedom of importation would enable the Eaſt-India company to ſell ſo cheap, as effectually to baniſh ſmuggling; and the low price of tea would enable the conſumer to pay a pretty ſmart duty, without being much out of pocket. The following mode is propoſed merely as an example: it is a hint that may lead to improvements. Let every man who uſes tea be ſubjected to a moderate tax, proportioned to his mode of living. Abſolute preciſion cannot be expected in proportioning the tax on families; but groſs inequality may eaſily be prevented. For inſtance, let the mode of living be determined by the equipage that is kept. A coach or chaiſe with two horſes ſhall ſubject a family to a yearly tax of L. 10, heightening the tax in proportion to the number of horſes and carriages; two ſervants in livery, without a carriage, to a tax of 40 s.; every other family paying 20 s. Every family where tea is uſed muſt be entered in the collector's books, with its mode of living, under a heavy penalty; which would regulate the coach-tax, as well as that on tea. Such a tax, little expenſive in levying, would undoubtedly be effectual: a maſter of a family is imprudent indeed, if he put it in the power of the vender, of a malicious neighbour, or of a menial ſervant, to ſubject him to a heavy penalty. This tax at the ſame time would be the leaſt diſagreeable of any that is levied without diſguiſe; being in effect a voluntary tax, as the mode of living is voluntary. Nor would it be difficult to temper the tax, ſo as to afford a greater ſum to the public than it receives at preſent from the importation-duty, and yet to coſt our people no more for tea than they pay at preſent, taking into computation the high price of that commodity.

High duties on importation are immoral, as well as impolitic; and it would be unjuſtifiable in the legiſlature, firſt to tempt, and then to puniſh for yielding to the temptation.

A ſecond rule is, That taxes expenſive in the levying ought to be

avoided; being heavy on the people, without a proportional benefit to the revenue. Our land-tax is admirable: it affords a great ſum, levied with very little expence. The duties on coaches, and on gold and ſilver plate, are ſimilar; and ſo would be the tax on tea above propoſed. The taxes that are the moſt hurtful to trade and manufactures, ſuch as the duty on ſoap, candle, leather, are expenſive in levying.

A third rule is, To avoid arbitrary taxes. They are diſguſtful to all, not excepting thoſe who are favourably treated; becauſe ſelf-partiality ſeldom permits a man to think, that juſtice is done him in ſuch matters. A tax laid on perſons in proportion to their trade, or their opulence, muſt be arbitrary, even where ſtrict juſtice is intended; becauſe it depends on the vague opinion or conjecture of the collector: every man thinks himſelf injured; and the ſum levied does not balance the diſcontent it occaſions. The tax laid on the French farmer in proportion to his ſubſtance, is an intolerable grievance, and a great engine of oppreſſion: if the farmer exert any activity in meliorating his land, he is ſure to be doubly taxed. Hamburgh affords the only inſtance of a tax on trade and riches, that is willingly paid, and that conſequently is levied without oppreſſion. Every merchant puts privately into the public cheſt, the ſum that in his own opinion he ought to contribute: A ſingular example of integrity in a great trading town; for there is no ſuſpicion of wrong in that tacit contribution. But this ſtate is not yet corrupted by luxury.

Becauſe many vices that poiſon a nation, ariſe from inequality of riches; I propoſe it as a fourth rule, to remedy that inequality as much as poſſible, by relieving the poor, and burdening the rich. Proprietors of overgrown eſtates, can bear without inconvenience very heavy taxes; and thoſe eſpecially who convert much land from profit to pleaſure, ought not to be ſpared. Would it not contribute greatly to the public good, that a tax of L. 50 ſhould

ſhould be laid on every houſe that has 50 windows; L. 150 on houſes of 100 windows; and L. 400 on houſes of 200 windows? By the ſame principle, every deer-park of 200 acres ought to pay L. 50; of 500 acres L. 200; and of 1000 acres L. 600. Fifty acres of pleaſure ground to pay L. 30; 100 ſuch acres L. 80; 150 acres L. 200; and 200 acres L. 300. Such a tax would have another good effect: it would probably move high-minded, men to leave out more ground for maintenance of the poor, than they are commonly inclined to do.

A fifth rule of capital importance, as it regards the intereſt of the ſtate in general is, That every tax which tends to impoveriſh the nation ought to be rejected with indignation. Such taxes contradict the very nature of government, which is to protect, not to oppreſs. And ſuppoſing the intereſt of the governing power to be only regarded, a ſtate is not meaſured by the extent of its territory, but by what the ſubjects are able to pay annually without end. A ſovereign, however regardleſs of his duty as father of his people, will regard that rule for his own ſake: a nation impoveriſhed by oppreſſive taxes, will reduce the ſovereign at laſt to the ſame poverty; for he cannot levy what they cannot pay.

Whether taxes impoſed on common neceſſaries, which fall heavy upon the labouring poor, be of the kind now mentioned, deſerves the moſt ſerious conſideration. Where they tend to promote induſtry, they are highly ſalutary: where they deprive us of foreign markets, by raiſing the price of labour, and of manufactures, they are highly noxious. In ſome caſes, induſtry may be promoted by taxes, without raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures. Tobolſki in Siberia is a populous town, the price of vivres is extremely low, and the people on that account are extremely idle. While they are maſters of a farthing, they work none: when they are pinched with hunger, they gain in a day what maintains them a week: they never think of to-morrow, nor of providing againſt want. A tax there upon neceſſaries would

would probably excite ſome degree of induſtry. Such a tax, renewed from time to time, and augmented gradually, would promote induſtry more and more, ſo as to ſqueeze out of that lazy people three, four, or even five days labour weekly, without raiſing their wages, or the price of their work. But beware of a general rule. The effect would be very different in Britain, where moderate labour, without much relaxation, is requiſite for living comfortably: in every ſuch caſe, a permanent tax upon neceſſaries will not fail in time to raiſe the price of labour. It is true, that in a ſingle year of ſcarcity there is commonly more labour, and even better living, than in plentiful years. But ſuppoſe ſcarcity to continue a number of years ſucceſſively, or ſuppoſe a permanent tax on neceſſaries, wages muſt riſe till the labourer find comfortable living: if the employer obſtinately ſtand out, the labourer will in deſpair abandon work altogether, and commence beggar; or will retire to a country leſs burdened with taxes. Hence a ſalutary doctrine, That where expence of living equals, or nearly equals, what is gained by bodily labour, moderate taxes renewed from time to time after conſiderable intervals, will promote induſtry, without raiſing the price of labour; but that permanent taxes will unavoidably raiſe the price of labour, and of manufactures. In Holland, the high price of proviſions and of labour, occaſioned by permanent taxes, have excluded from the foreign market every one of their manufactures that can be ſupplied by other nations. Heavy taxes have put an end to their once flouriſhing manufactures of wool, of ſilk, of gold and ſilver, and many others. The prices of labour and of manufactures have in England been immoderately raiſed by the ſame means.

To prevent a total downfall of our manufactures, ſeveral political writers have given their opinion, that the labouring poor ought to be diſburdened of all taxes. The royal tithe propoſed for France, inſtead of all other taxes, publiſhed in the name of Mareſchal

Mareſchal Vauban, or ſuch a tax laid upon land in England, might originally have produced wonders. But the expedient would now come too late, at leaſt in England: ſuch profligacy have the poor-rates produced among the lower ranks, that to relieve them from taxes, would probably make them work leſs, but aſſuredly would not make them work cheaper. It is vain therefore to think of a remedy againſt idleneſs and high wages, while the poor-rates ſubſiſt in their preſent form. Davenant pronounces, that the Engliſh poor-rates will in time be the bane of their manufactures. He computes, that the perſons receiving alms in England amount to one million and two hundred thouſand, the half of whom at leaſt would have continued to work, had they not relied on pariſh-charity. But of this more at large in a ſeparate ſketch.

Were the poor-rates aboliſhed, a general act of naturalization would not only augment the ſtrength of Britain, by adding to the number of its people, but would compel the natives to work cheaper, and conſequently to be more induſtrious.

If theſe expedients be not reliſhed, the only one that remains for preſerving our manufactures is, to encourage their exportation by a bounty, ſuch as may enable us to cope with our rivals in foreign markets. But where is the fund for a bounty ſo extenſive? It may be raiſed out of land, like the Athenian tax above mentioned, burdening great proprietors in a geometrical proportion, and freeing thoſe who have not above L. 100 of land-rent. That tax would raiſe a great ſum to the public, without any real loſs to thoſe who are burdened; for comparative riches would remain the ſame as formerly. Nay ſuch a tax would in time prove highly beneficial to land-proprietors; for by promoting induſtry and commerce, it would raiſe the rent of land much above the contribution. Can money be laid out ſo advantageouſly at common intereſt? And to reconcile land-holders to the tax, may it not

not be thought ſufficient, that, without a bounty, our foreign commerce muſt vaniſh, and land be reduced to its original low value? Can any man heſitate about paying a ſhilling, when it enſures him againſt loſing a pound?

I ſhall cloſe with a rule of deeper concern than all that have been mentioned, which is, To avoid taxes that require the oath of party. They are *contra bonos mores*, as being a temptation to perjury. Few there are ſo wicked, as to hurt others by perjury: at the ſame time, there are not many of the lower ranks ſo upright, as to ſcruple much at perjury, when it prevents hurt to themſelves. Conſider the duty on candle. Thoſe only who brew for ſale, pay the duty on malt-liquor; and to avoid the brewer's oath, the quantity is aſcertained by officers who attend the proceſs. But the duty on candle is oppreſſive, not only as comprehending poor people who make no candle for ſale, but as ſubjecting them to give oath on the quantity they make for their own uſe. Figure a poor widow, burdened with five or ſix children: ſhe is not permitted to make ready a little food for her infants, by the light of a rag dipped in greaſe, without paying what ſhe has not to pay, or being guilty of perjury. However upright originally, poverty and anxiety about her infants will tempt her to conceal the truth, and to deny upon oath:—a ſad leſſon to her poor children: ought they to be puniſhed for copying after their mother, whom they love and revere? whatever ſhe does appears right in their eyes. The manner of levying the ſalt-tax in France is indeed arbitrary; but it is not productive of immorality: an oath is avoided; and every maſter of a family pays for the quantity he is preſumed to conſume. French wine is often imported into Britain as Spaniſh, which pays leſs duty. To check that fraud, the importer's oath is required; and if perjury be ſuſpected, a jury is ſet upon him in exchequer. This is horrid: the importer is tempted by a high duty on French wine to commit perjury; for which

which he is profecuted in a ſovereign court, open to all the world: he turns deſperate, and loſes all ſenſe of honour. Thus cuſtom-houſe oaths have become a proverb, as meriting no regard; and corruption creeping on, will become univerſal. Some goods imported pay a duty *ad valorem*; and to aſcertain the value the importer's oath is required.. In China, the books of the merchant are truſted, without an oath. Why not imitate ſo laudable a practice? If our people be more corrupted, perjury may be avoided, by ordaining the merchant to deliver his goods to any who will demand them, at the rate ſtated in his books; with the addition of ten *per cent.* as a ſufficient profit to himſelf. Oaths have been greatly multiplied in Britain ſince the Revolution, without reſerve, and contrary to ſound policy. New oaths have been contrived againſt thoſe who are diſaffected to the government; againſt fictitious titles in electing parliament-members; againſt defrauding the revenue, &c. &c. They have been ſo hackney'd, and have become ſo familiar, as to be held a matter of form merely. Perjury has dwindled into a venial tranſgreſſion, and is ſcarce held an imputation on any man's character. Lamentable indeed has been the conduct of our legiſlature: inſtead of laws for reforming or improving morals, the imprudent multiplication of oaths has not only ſpread corruption through every rank, but, by annihilating the authority of an oath over conſcience, has rendered it entirely uſeleſs.

SECT. VI.

Examination of British Taxes.

THere is no political ſubject of greater importance to Britain, than the preſent: a whole life might be profitably beſtow'd on it, and a large volume. My part is only to ſuggeſt hints; which will occur in conſidering taxes with regard to their effects. And in that view, they may be commodiouſly diſtinguiſhed into five kinds. Firſt, Taxes that encreaſe the public revenue, without producing any other effect, good or bad. Second, Taxes that encreaſe the public revenue; and are alſo beneficial to manufactures and commerce. Third, Taxes that encreaſe the public revenue; but are hurtful to manufactures and commerce. Fourth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce, without encreaſing the public revenue. Fifth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce; and alſo leſſen the public revenue. I proceed to inſtances of each kind.

The land-tax is an illuſtrious inſtance of the firſt kind: it produces a revenue to the public, levied with very little expence: and it hurts no mortal; for a landholder who pays for having himſelf and his eſtate protected, cannot be ſaid to be hurt. The duty on coaches is of the ſame kind. Both taxes at the ſame time are agreeable to ſound principles. Men ought to contribute to the public revenue, according to the benefit that protection affords them: a rich man requires protection for his poſſeſſions, as well as for his perſon, and therefore ought to contribute largely: a poor

poor man requires protection for his perſon only, and therefore ought to contribute very little.

A tax on foreign luxuries is an inſtance of the ſecond kind. It encreaſes the public revenue: and it greatly benefits individuals; not only by reſtraining the conſumption of foreign luxuries, but by encouraging our own manufactures of that kind. Britain enjoys a monopoly of coal exported to Holland; and the duty on exportation is agreeable to ſound policy, being paid by the Dutch. This duty is an inſtance of the ſecond kind: it raiſes a conſiderable revenue to the public; and it enables us to cope with the Dutch in every manufacture that employs coal, ſuch as dying, diſtilling, works of glaſs and of iron. And theſe manufactures in Britain, by the dearneſs of labour, are entitled to ſome aid. A tax on horſes, to prevent their increaſe, would be a tax of the ſame kind. The incredible number of horſes uſed in coaches and other wheel-carriages, has raiſed the price of labour, by doubling the the price of oat-meal, the food of the labouring poor in many parts of Britain. The price of wheat is alſo raiſed by the ſame means; becauſe the vaſt quantity of land employ'd in producing oats, leaves ſo much the leſs for wheat. I would not exempt even plough-horſes from the tax; becauſe in every view it is more advantageous to uſe oxen *. So little regard is paid to theſe conſiderations,

* They are preferable for huſbandry in ſeveral reſpects. They are cheaper than horſes: their food, their harneſs, their ſhoes, the attendance on them, much leſs expenſive; and their dung much better for land. Horſes are more ſubject to diſeaſes, and when diſeaſed or old are totally uſeleſs; upon which account, a ſtock of horſes for a farm, muſt be renewed at leaſt every ten years; whereas a ſtock of oxen may be kept entire for ever without any new expence, as they will always draw a full price when fatted for food. Nor is a horſe more docile than an ox: a couple of oxen in a plough, require not a driver more than a couple of horſes. The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope plough with oxen; and exerciſe them early to a quick

rations, that a coach, whether drawn by two horſes or by ſix, pays the ſame duty.

As to the third kind, I am grieved to obſerve, that we have many taxes more hurtful to individuals than advantageous to the public revenue. Multiplied taxes on the neceſſaries of life, candle, ſoap, leather, ale, ſalt, &c. raiſe the price of labour, and conſequently of manufactures. If they ſhall have the effect to deprive us of foreign markets, which we have reaſon to dread, depopulation and poverty muſt enſue. The ſalt-tax in particular is more out of rule than any of the others mentioned: with reſpect to theſe, the rich bear the greateſt burden, being the greateſt conſumers; but the ſhare they pay of the ſalt-tax is very little, becauſe they never touch ſalt proviſions. The ſalt-tax is ſtill more abſurd in another reſpect, ſalt being a choice manure for land. One would be amazed to hear of a law prohibiting the uſe of lime as a manure: he would be ſtill more amazed to hear of the prohibition being extended to ſalt, which is a manure much ſuperior: and yet a heavy tax on ſalt, which renders it too dear for being uſed as a manure, ſurpriſes no man. But the mental eye, when left without culture, reſembles that of the body: it ſeldom perceives but what is directly before it: inferences and conſequences go far out of ſight. Many thouſand quarters of good wheat have been annually with-held from Britain by the ſalt-tax. What the

pace, ſo as to equal horſes both in the plough and in the waggon. The people of Malabar uſe no other animal for the plough nor for burdens. About Pondichery no beaſts of burden are to be ſeen but oxen. The vaſt increaſe of horſes of late years for luxury as well as for draught, makes a great conſumption of oats. If in huſbandry oxen only were uſed, which require no oats, many thouſand acres would be ſaved for wheat and barley. But the advantages of oxen would not be confined to the farmer. Beef would become much cheaper to the manufacturer, by the vaſt addition of fat oxen ſent to market; and the price of leather and tallow would fall; a national benefit, as every one uſes ſhoes and candles.

treaſury

treaſury has gained, will not amount to the fiftieth part of that loſs. The abſurdity of with-holding from us a manure ſo profitable, has at laſt been diſcovered; and remedied in part, by permitting Engliſh foul ſalt to be uſed for manure, on paying four pence of duty per buſhel (*a*). Why was not Scotland permitted to taſte of that bounty? Our candidates, it would appear, are more ſolicitous of a ſeat in parliament, than of ſerving their country when they have obtained that honour.

The window-tax is more detrimental to the common intereſt than advantageous to the public revenue. In the firſt place, it promotes large farms in order to ſave houſes and windows; whereas ſmall farms tend to multiply a hardy and frugal race, uſeful for every purpoſe. In the next place, it is a diſcouragement to manufactures, by taxing the houſes in which they are carried on. Manufacturers, in order to relieve themſelves as much as poſſible from the tax, make the whole ſide of their houſe a ſingle window; and there are inſtances where in three ſtories there are but three windows. The tax, at the ſame time, is impoſed with no degree of equality: a houſe in a paultry village that affords not five pounds of yearly rent, may have a greater number of windows than one in London rented at fifty. In this reſpect it runs counter to ſound policy, by eaſing the rich, and burdening the poor. The ſame objection lies againſt the plate-tax. It is not indeed hurtful to manufactures and commerce: but it is hurtful to the common intereſt; becauſe plate converted into money may be the means of ſaving the nation at a criſis, and therefore ought to be encouraged, inſtead of being loaded with a tax. On pictures imported into Britain, a duty is laid in proportion to the ſize. Was there no intelligent perſon at hand, to inform our legiſlature, that the only means to rouſe a genius for painting, is

(*a*) 8° Geo. III. cap. 25.

to

to give our youth ready acceſs to good pictures? Till theſe be multiplied in Britain, we never ſhall have the reputation of producing a good painter. So far indeed it is lucky, that the moſt valuable pictures are not loaded with a greater duty than the moſt execrable. Fiſh, both ſalt and freſh, brought to Paris, pay a duty of 48 *per cent.* by an arbitrary eſtimation of the value. This tax is an irreparable injury to France, by diſcouraging the multiplication of ſeamen. It is beneficial indeed in one view, as it tends to check the growing population of that great city.

Without waiting to rummage the Britiſh taxes for examples of the fourth kind, I ſhall preſent my reader with a foreign inſtance. In the Auſtrian Netherlands, there are inexhauſtible mines of coal, the exportation of which would make a conſiderable article of commerce, were it not abſolutely barred by an exorbitant duty. This abſurd duty is a great injury to proprietors of coal, without yielding a farthing to the government. The Dutch many years ago offered to confine themſelves to that country for coal, on condition of being relieved from the duty; which would have brought down the price below that of Britiſh coal. Is it not wonderful, that the propoſal was rejected? But miniſters ſeldom regard what is beneficial to the nation, unleſs it produce an immediate benefit to their ſovereign or to themſelves. The coal-mines in the Auſtrian Netherlands being thus ſhut up, and the art of working them loſt, the Britiſh enjoy the monopoly of exporting coal to Holland.

The duty on coal water-born is an inſtance of the fifth kind. A great obſtruction it is to many uſeful manufactures that require coal; and indeed to manufactures in general, by increaſing the expence of coal, an eſſential article in a cold country. Nay, one would imagine, that it has been intended to check population; as poor wretches benumbed with cold, feel little of the carnal appetite. It has not even the merit of adding much to the public revenue;

venue; for, laying aſide London, it produces but a mere trifle. But the peculiarity of this tax, which intitles it to a conſpicuous place in the fifth claſs, is, that it is not leſs detrimental to the public revenue than to individuals. No ſedentary art nor occupation, can ſucceed in a cold climate without plenty of fewel. One may at the firſt glance diſtinguiſh the coal-countries from the reſt of England, by the induſtry of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns and villages. Where there is ſcarcity of fewel, ſome hours are loſt every morning; becauſe people cannot work till the place be ſufficiently warmed, which is eſpecially the caſe in manufactures that require a ſoft and delicate finger. Now, in many parts of Britain which might be provided with coal by water, the labouring poor are deprived of that comfort by the tax. Had cheap firing encouraged theſe people to proſecute arts and manufactures; it is more than probable, that at this day they would be contributing to the public revenue by other duties, much greater ſums than are drawn from them by the duty on coal. At the ſame time, if coal muſt pay a duty, why not at the pit, where it is cheapeſt? Is it not an egregious blunder, to lay a great duty on thoſe who pay a high price for coal, and no duty on thoſe who have it cheap? If there muſt be a coal-duty, let water-born coal at any rate be exempted; not only becauſe even without duty it comes dear to the conſumer, but alſo for the encouragement of ſeamen. For the honour of Britain this duty ought to be expunged from our ſtatute-book, never again to ſhow its face. Great reaſon indeed there is for continuing the duty on coal conſumed in London; becauſe every artifice ſhould be put in practice, to prevent the increaſe of a head, that is already too large for the body, or for any body. Towns are unhealthy in proportion to their ſize; and a great town like London is a greater enemy to population than war or famine.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

REGULATIONS for advancing INDUSTRY and COMMERCE.

OF all ſciences, that of politics is the moſt intricate; and its progreſs toward maturity is ſlow in proportion. In the preſent ſection, taxes on exportation of native commodities take the firſt place; and nothing can ſet in a ſtronger light the groſs ignorance of former ages, than a maxim univerſally adopted, That to tax exportation, or to prohibit it altogether, is the beſt means for having plenty at home. In Scotland we were not ſatisfied with prohibiting the exportation of corn, of fiſh, and of horſes: the prohibition was extended to manufactures, linen cloth, for example, candle, butter, cheeſe, barked hides, ſhoes * (*a*).

Duties on exportation are in great favour, from a notion that they are paid by foreigners. This holds ſometimes, as in the above-mentioned caſe of coal exported to Holland: but it fails in every caſe where the foreign market can be ſupplied by others;

* Oil was the only commodity that by the laws of Solon was permitted to be exported from Attica. The figs of that country, which are delicious, came to be produced in ſuch plenty, that there was no ſufficient conſumpt for them at home; and yet the law prohibiting exportation was not abrogated. Sycophant denotes a perſon who informs againſt the exporter of figs: but the prohibition appearing abſurd, ſycophant became a term of reproach.

(*a*) Act 59. parl. 1573.

for

for whatever be the duty, the merchant muſt regulate his price by the market. And even ſuppoſing the market-price at preſent to be ſufficient for the duty, with a reaſonable profit to the exporter, thoſe who pay no duty will ſtrain every nerve of rivalſhip, till they cut us out by low prices. The duty on French wine exported from France, is equal to a bounty to the wines of neighbouring countries. At the ſame time, the duty is unſkilfully impoſed, being the ſame upon all wines exported, without regard to flavour or ſtrength; which bars the commerce of ſmall wines, tho' much more plentiful. A moderate duty on exportation, ſuch as ſmall wines can bear, would add a greater ſum to the revenue, and alſo be more beneficial to commerce. To improve the commerce of wine in France, the exportation ought to be free, or, at moſt, charged with a moderate duty *ad valorem*. In Spain an exceſſive duty is laid upon the plant barrile when exported; from a perſuaſion that it will not grow in any other country. It is not conſidered, that this tax, by leſſening the demand, is a diſcouragement to its culture. A moderate duty would raiſe more money to the public, would employ more hands, and would make that plant a permanent article of commerce. The exceſſive duty has ſet invention at work, for ſome material in place of that plant. If ſuch a material ſhall be diſcovered, the Spaniſh miniſtry will be convinced of a ſalutary maxim, That it is not always ſafe, to interrupt by high duties the free courſe of commerce. Formerly in Britain the exportation of manufactured copper was prohibited. That blunder in commercial politics, was corrected by a ſtatute in the reign of King William, permitting ſuch copper to be exported, on paying a duty of four ſhillings the hundred weight. The exportation ought to have been declared free; which was done by a ſtatute of Queen Anne. But as people are apt to overdo in the rage of improvement, this ſtatute permits even unwrought copper, a raw material, to be exported. This probably

was to favour copper-mines: but did it not alſo favour foreign copper-manufactures? Goods and merchandiſe of the product or manufacture of Great Britain, may be exported duty free (*a*). Alum, lead, and ſome other commodities ſpecified in the ſtatute, are excepted; and a duty formerly paid on exportation is continued, for encouraging ſuch of our own manufactures as employ any of the articles ſpecified. In Ireland to this day, goods exported are loaded with a high duty, without even diſtinguiſhing made work from raw materials; corn, for example, fiſh, hops, butter, horned cattle, wrought iron, leather, and every thing made of it, &c. &c. And that nothing may eſcape, all goods exported that are not contained in the book of rates, pay 5 *per cent. ad valorem.*

When Sully entered on the adminiſtration of the French finances, the corn in France was at an exorbitant price, occaſioned by neglect of huſbandry during the civil war. That ſagacious miniſter diſcovered the ſecret of re-eſtabliſhing agriculture, and of reducing the price of corn, which is, to allow a free exportation. So rapid was the ſucceſs of that bold but politic meaſure, that in a few years France became the granary of Europe; and what at preſent may appear wonderful, we find in the Engliſh records, *anno* 1621, bitter complaints of the French underſelling them in their own markets. Colbert, who, fortunately for us, had imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers. But he was in a groſs miſtake; for that prohibition has been the chief cauſe of many famines in France ſince that time. The corn-trade in France lay long under great diſcouragements; and the French miniſtry continued long blind to the intereſt of their country. At laſt edicts were iſſued, authoriſing the commerce of corn to be abſolutely free, whether ſold within the kingdom or

(*a*) George I. cap. 14. act 8.

exported.

exported. The generality however continued blind. In the year 1768, the badneſs of the harveſt having occaſioned a famine, the diſtreſſes of the people were exceſſive, and their complaints univerſal. Overlooking altogether the bad harveſt, they, from amazing partiality, attributed their miſery to the new law. It was in vain inculcated, that freedom in the corn-trade encourages agriculture: the popular opinion was adopted even by moſt of the parliaments; ſo difficult it is to eradicate eſtabliſhed prejudices. In Turky, about thirty years ago, a grand vizir permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly, a buſhel of wheat being ſold at that time under ſeventeen pence. Every nation flocked to Turky for corn; and in particular no fewer than three hundred French veſſels, from twenty to two hundred tons, entered Smyrna bay in one day. The Janiſſaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn would be exported, and that a famine would enſue. In Conſtantinople they grew mutinous, and could not be appeaſed till the vizir was ſtrangled, and his body thrown out to them. His ſucceſſor, who reſolved not to ſplit on the ſame rock, prohibited exportation abſolutely. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product; and the farmers, who ſaw no demand, neglected tillage. In leſs than three years the buſhel of wheat roſe to ſix ſhillings; and the diſtreſſes of the people became intolerable. To this day, the fate of the good vizir is lamented.

We have improved upon Sully's diſcovery, by a bounty on corn exported, which has anſwered our moſt ſanguine expectations. A great increaſe of gold and ſilver ſubſequent to the ſaid bounty, which has raiſed the price of many other commodities, muſt have alſo raiſed that of corn, had not ſtill a greater increaſe of corn, occaſioned by the bounty, reduced its price even below what it was formerly; and by that means our manufactures have profited by the bounty no leſs than our huſbandry. The bounty is ſtill

more important in another reſpect: agriculture in France lies under many diſcouragements; the greateſt of which is, that our wheat can be afforded as cheap in their markets as their own; and by prohibiting exportation, it is in our power during a war, to daſh all the French ſchemes for conqueſt, by depriving them of bread *. This bounty therefore is our palladium, which we ought religiouſly to guard, if we would avoid being a province of France. Some ſage politicians have begun of late to mutter againſt the bounty, as feeding our rival manufacturers cheaper than our own; which is a miſtake, for the expence of exportation commonly equals the bounty. But ſuppoſing it true, will the evil be remedied by withdrawing the bounty? On the contrary, it will diſcourage manufactures, by raiſing the price of wheat at home. It will beſide encourage French huſbandry, ſo as in all probability to reduce the price of their wheat, below what we afford it to them. In France, labour is cheaper than in England; the people are more frugal, they poſſeſs a better ſoil and climate: what have we to balance theſe ſignal advantages but our bounty? and were that bounty withdrawn, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed to ſee French corn poured in upon us, at a lower price than it can be furniſhed at home; the very game that was play'd againſt us, during Sully's adminiſtration.

The exportation of Britiſh manufactures to our American colonies, ought to meet with ſuch encouragement as to prevent them from rivalling us: it would be a groſs blunder to encourage their manufactures, by impoſing a duty on what we export to them.

* Between the years 1715 and 1755 there was of wheat exported from England into France twenty-one millions of *ſeptiers*, eſtimated at two hundred millions of livres. The bounty for exporting corn has ſometimes amounted to L. 150,000 for a ſingle year. But this ſum is not all loſt to the public; for frequently our corn is exchanged with goods that pay a high duty on importation.

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We ought rather to give a bounty on exportation; which, by underſelling them in their own markets, would quaſh every attempt to rivalſhip.

As the duty on foreign linen imported into Britain, is drawn back when exported to America, our legiſlature gave a bounty on our coarſe linen exported to that country, which enables us to cope with the Germans in the American markets. The ſtaining or printing of linen cloth, has of late become a conſiderable article in the manufactures of Britain; and there is no ſort of linen more proper for that manufacture than our own. The duty of foreign linen is drawn back when exported to America, whether plain or ſtamped: and as we loſe the bounty on our coarſe linen when ſtamped, none but foreign linen is employ'd in the ſtamping manufacture. This is an overſight ſuch as our legiſlature is guilty of ſometimes.

It is not always true policy, to diſcourage the exportation of our own rude materials: liberty of exportation, gives encouragement to produce them in greater plenty at home; which conſequently lowers the price to our manufacturers. Upon that principle, the exporting corn is permitted, and in Britain even encouraged with a bounty. But where exportation of a rude material will not encreaſe its quantity, the prohibition is good policy. For example, the exporting of rags for paper may be prohibited; becauſe liberty of exporting will not occaſion one yard more of linen cloth to be conſumed.

Lyons is the city of Europe where the greateſt quantity of ſilk ſtuffs is made: it is at the ſame time the greateſt ſtaple of raw ſilk; the ſilk of Italy, of Spain, of the Levant, and of the ſouth of France, being there collected. The exportation of raw ſilk is prohibited in France, with a view to leſſen its price at home, and to obſtruct the ſilk-manufacture among foreigners. The firſt is a groſs error; the prohibition of exportation producing ſcarcity, not plenty:

plenty: and with reſpect to the other view, it ſeems to have been overlooked, that the commerce of the ſilks of Italy, of Spain, and of the Levant, is not confined to France, but is open to all trading nations. This prohibition is indeed ſo injudicious, that without any benefit to France, it has done irreparable miſchief to the city of Lyons: while the commerce of raw ſilk, both buying and ſelling, was monopoliz'd by the merchants of that city, they had it in their power to regulate the price; but to compel foreigners to go to the fountain-head, not only raiſes the price by concurrence of purchaſers, but deprives Lyons of a lucrative monopoly. The ſame blunder is repeated with reſpect to raw ſilk ſpun and dy'd. In Lyons, ſilk is prepared for the loom with more art than any where elſe; and to ſecure the ſilk-manufacture, the exportation of ſpun ſilk is prohibited; which muſt rouſe foreigners, to beſtow their utmoſt attention upon improving the ſpinning and dreſſing of ſilk: and who knows whether reiterated trials by perſons of genius, may not, in England for example, bring theſe branches of the manufacture to greater perfection, than they are even in Lyons?

Whether we have not committed a blunder of the ſame kind in prohibiting exportation of our wool, is a very ſerious queſtion, which I proceed to examine. A ſpirit for huſbandry, and for every ſort of improvement, is in France turning more and more general. In ſeveral provinces there are ſocieties, who have command of public money for promoting agriculture; and about no other article are theſe ſocieties more ſolicitous, than about improving the ſtaple of their wool. A book lately publiſhed in Sweden, and tranſlated into French, has inſpired them with ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs; as it contains an account of the Swediſh wool being greatly improved in quality, as well as in quantity, by importing Spaniſh and Engliſh ſheep for breed. Now as France is an extenſive country, ſituated between Spain and England, two excellent wool-

wool-countries, it would be ſtrange, if there ſhould not be found a ſingle corner in all France, where wool may be advanced to ſome degree of perfection. Britain may be juſtly apprehenſive of theſe attempts; for if France can cope with us under the diſadvantage of procuring our wool by ſmuggling, how far will they exceed us with good wool of their own? The woollen cloth of England has always been held its capital manufacture; and patriotiſm calls on every one to prevent if poſſible the loſs of that valuable branch. Till ſomething better be diſcovered, I venture to propoſe what at firſt may be thought a ſtrange meaſure, and that is, to permit the exportation of our wool upon a moderate duty, ſuch as will raiſe the price to the French, but not ſuch as to encourage ſmuggling. The opportunity of procuring wool in the neighbourhood at a moderate price, joined with ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to improve the ſtaple of their own wool, would ſoon make the French abandon thoughts of that improvement.

Experience has unfolded the advantages of liberty to export corn: it has greatly encouraged agriculture, and, by increaſing the quantity of corn, has made it even cheaper at home than formerly. Have we not reaſon to expect a ſimilar conſequence, from the ſame meaſure with reſpect to wool? A new vent for that commodity, would increaſe the number of our ſheep, meliorate the land by their dung, and probably bring down the price of our wool at home. It is proper indeed to prohibit the exportation of wool, as of corn, when the price riſes above a certain ſum; which would have the double effect of ſecuring plenty to ourſelves, and diſtreſſing our rivals at critical times when the commodity is ſcarce.

There is one reaſon that ſhould influence our legiſlature to permit the exportation of wool, even ſuppoſing the foregoing arguments to be inconcluſive: Very long experience may teach us, if we can be taught by experience, that vain are our endeavours to prevent

prevent wool from being exported: it holds true with reſpect to all prohibitions, that ſmuggling will always prevail, where the profits riſe above the riſk. Why not then make a virtue of neceſſity, by permitting exportation under a duty? One other meaſure would reſtore the Engliſh woollen manufacture to its priſtine ſplendor, which is, to apply the ſum ariſing from the tax, as a premium for exporting woollen goods. Were that meaſure adopted, the liberty of exporting wool would prove a ſingular bleſſing to England.

I cloſe this branch with a commercial leſſon, to which every other conſideration ought to yield. The trade of a nation depends for the moſt part on very delicate circumſtances, and requires to be carefully nurſed. Foreigners, in particular, ought to be flattered and encouraged, that they may prefer us before others. Nor ought we ever to rely entirely on our natural advantages; for it is not eaſy to foreſee what may occur to overbalance them. As this reflection is no leſs obvious than weighty, facts will be more effectual than argument for making a deep impreſſion. The Swiſs ſome years ago imported all their wines from the King of Sardinia's dominions. The King laid a high duty on theſe wines, knowing that the Swiſs had not ready acceſs to any other wine-country. He did not foreſee, that this high duty was equal to a premium for cultivating the vine at home. They ſucceeded; and now are provided with wine of their own growth. The city of Lyons, by making ſilver-thread in perfection, had maintained a monopoly of that article againſt foreigners, as well as natives. But a high duty on the exporting it, in order to monopolize alſo the manufacture of ſilver-lace, will probably excite foreigners to improve their own ſilver-thread and ſilver-lace; and France will be deprived of both monopolies, by the very means employ'd for ſecuring both. Engliſh goods purchaſed by Spaniards for the American market, pay to the King of Spain on exportation

portation a duty equal to their value. This impolitic meaſure opens a wide door to ſmuggling; as Engliſh goods can be furniſhed 50 *per cent.* cheaper from Jamaica. The Spaniſh governor of Mexico joins underhand in the ſmuggling; which is commonly carried on in the following manner. The governor, to whom early notice is given, iſſues a proclamation, bearing, that a foreign ſhip, with Engliſh goods on board, every article being ſpecified, is hovering on the coaſt; and prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, any perſon to be a purchaſer. That public proclamation, which is virtually a public advertiſement, has the deſired effect. All flock to the ſhore, and purchaſe in perfect tranquillity.

Beſide heavy duties, commerce with foreigners has been diſtreſſed by many unwary regulations. The herring-fiſhery, which is now an immenſe article of commerce, was engroſſed originally by the Scots. But graſping at all advantages, the royal boroughs of Scotland, in the reign of the ſecond James, prohibited their fiſhermen to ſell herrings at ſea to foreigners; ordering, that the herring ſhould be firſt landed, in order that they themſelves might be firſt ſerved. Such was the police of thoſe times. But behold the conſequence. The Netherlanders, and people of the Hanſe towns, being prohibited to purchaſe as formerly, became fiſhers themſelves, and cut the Scots out of that profitable branch of trade. The tar-company of Sweden, taking it for granted, that the Engliſh could not otherwiſe be ſupplied, refuſed to let them have any pitch or tar, even for ready money, unleſs permitted to be imported into England in Swediſh bottoms; and conſequently in ſuch quantities only as the company ſhould be pleaſed to furniſh. This hardſhip moved the parliament to give a bounty for pitch and tar made in our own colonies. And if we be not already, we ſhall ſoon be altogether independent of Sweden. The Dutch, excited by the profitable trade of Portugal with the Eaſt Indies, attempted a north-eaſt paſſage to China;

and that proving abortive, they ſet on foot a trade with Liſbon for Eaſt-India commodities. Portugal was at that time ſubject to the King of Spain; and the Dutch, tho' at war with Spain, did not doubt of their being well received in Portugal, with which kingdom they had no cauſe of quarrel. But the King of Spain, overlooking not only the law of nations, but even his own intereſt as King of Portugal, confiſcated at ſhort-hand the Dutch ſhips and their cargoes, in the harbour of Liſbon. That unjuſt and unpolitic treatment, provoked the Dutch to attempt an Eaſt-India trade, which probably they would not otherwiſe have thought of; and they were ſo ſucceſsful, as to ſupplant the Portugueſe in every quarter. And thus the King of Spain, by a groſs error in politics, exalted his enemies to be a powerful maritime ſtate. Had he encouraged the Dutch to trade with Liſbon, other nations muſt have reſorted to the ſame market. Portugal thereby would have been raiſed to ſuch a height of maritime power, as to be afraid of no rival. The Dutch would not have thought of coping with them, nor would any other nation.

We proceed to foreign commodities, and the meaſures laid down for regulating their importation, which have different views. One is, to keep down a rival power; in which view it is prudent to prohibit importation from one country, and to encourage it from another. It is judicious in the Britiſh legiſlature, to load French wines with a higher duty than thoſe of Portugal; and in France, it would be a proper meaſure, to prefer the beef of Holſtein, or of Ruſſia, before that of Ireland; and the tobacco of the Ukraine, or of the Palatinate, before that of Virginia. But ſuch meaſures of government ought to be ſparingly exerciſed, for fear of retaliation.

There is no cauſe more cogent for regulating importation, than an unfavourable balance. By permitting French goods to be imported free of duty, the balance againſt England was computed to be

be a million Sterling yearly. In the year 1678, that importation was regulated; which, with a prohibition of wearing Eaſt-India manufactures, did in twenty years turn the balance of trade in favour of England.

Moſt of the Britiſh regulations with regard to goods imported, are contrived for promoting our own manufactures, or thoſe of our colonies. A ſtatute, 3° Edward IV. cap. 4. intitled, "Certain merchandiſes not lawful to be brought ready wrought into the kingdom," contains a large liſt of ſuch merchandiſes; ſhowing the good ſenſe of the Engliſh in an early period, intent on promoting their own manufactures. To favour a new manufacture of our own, it is proper to lay a duty on the ſame manufacture imported. To encourage the art of throwing ſilk, the duty on raw ſilk imported is reduced, and that on thrown ſilk is heightened. But ſuch a meaſure ought to be taken with great circumſpection, leſt it recoil againſt ourſelves. The Swedes, ſome years ago, intent on raiſing manufactures at home, prohibited at once foreign manufactures, without due preparation. Smuggling enſued, for people muſt import what they cannot find at home; and the home manufactures were not benefited. But the conſequences were ſtill more ſevere. Foreign manufactures were formerly purchaſed with their copper, iron, timber, pitch, tar, &c.: but now, as foreigners cannot procure theſe commodities but with ready money, they reſort to Ruſſia and Norway, where commodities of the ſame kind are procured by barter. The Swediſh government, perceiving their error, permit ſeveral foreign manufactures to be imported as formerly. But it is now too late; for the trade flows into another channel; and at preſent, the Swediſh copper and iron works are far from flouriſhing as they once did. In the year 1768, an ordinance was iſſued by the court of Spain, prohibiting printed or painted linen and cotton to be imported; intended for encouraging a manufacture of printed cottons pro-

jected in Catalonia and Aragon. The Spaniſh miniſtry have all along been ſingularly unlucky in their commercial regulations. It is eaſy to foreſee, that ſuch a prohibition will have no effect, but to raiſe the price on the ſubjects of Spain; for the prohibited goods will be ſmuggled, diſcouraging as much as ever the intended manufacture. The prudent meaſure would have been, to lay a duty upon printed cottons and linens imported, ſo ſmall as not to encourage ſmuggling; and to apply that duty for nurſing the infant manufacture. A foreign manufacture ought never to be totally prohibited, till that at home be in ſuch plenty, as nearly to ſupply the wants of the natives. During ignorance of political principles, a new manufacture was commonly encouraged with an excluſive privilege for a certain number of years. Thus in Scotland, an excluſive privilege of exporting woollen and linen manufactures, was given to ſome private ſocieties (*a*). Such a monopoly is ruinous to a nation; and frequently to the manufacture itſelf (*b*). I know no monopoly that in ſound politics can be juſtified, except that given to authors of books for fourteen years by an act of Queen Anne *. Exemption from duty, premiums to

(*a*) Act 42. parl. 1661.

(*b*) See Elemens du Commerce, tom. 1. p. 334.

* That act is judiciouſly contrived, not only for the benefit of authors, but for that of learning in general. It encourages men of genius to write, and multiplies books both of inſtruction and amuſement; which, by concurrence of many editors after the monopoly is at an end, are ſold at the cheapeſt rate. Many well-diſpoſed perſons complain, that the excluſive privilege beſtow'd by the ſtatute upon authors is too ſhort, and that it ought to be perpetual. Nay it is aſſerted, that authors have a perpetual privilege by common law; and it was determined lately in the court of king's-bench, that by the common law of England the privilege is perpetual. Nothing more frequently happens, than by graſping at the ſhadow, to loſe the ſubſtance; for I have no difficulty to maintain, that a perpetual monopoly

to the beſt workmen, a bounty on exportation, joined with a duty on goods of the ſame kind imported, and at laſt a total prohibition, are the proper encouragements to a new manufacture.

The importation of raw materials ought to be encouraged in every manufacturing country, permitting only a moderate duty for encouraging our own rude materials of the ſame kind. By a French edict 1654, for encouraging ſhip-building, ſhip-timber imported pays no duty. But perhaps a moderate duty would have been better policy, in order to encourage ſuch timber of the growth of France. Deal timber accordingly, and other timber, imported into Britain from any part of Europe, Ireland excepted, pays a moderate duty. And oak-bark imported pays a duty, which is an encouragement to propagate oak at home. The importation of lean cattle from Ireland, which in effect are raw ma-

poly of books would prove more deſtructive to learning, and even to authors, than a ſecond irruption of Goths and Vandals. It is the nature of a monopoly to raiſe the price of commodities; and by a perpetual monopoly in the commerce of books, the price of good books would be raiſed far beyond the reach of moſt readers: they would be ſold like pictures of the great maſters. The works of Shakeſpeare, for example, or of Milton, would be ſeen in very few libraries. In ſhort, the ſale of good books would be confined to a few learned men, ſuch as have money to ſpare, and to a few rich men, who buy out of vanity, as they buy a diamond or a fine coat. Faſhions at the ſame time are variable; and books, even the moſt ſplendid, would wear out of faſhion with men of opulence, and be deſpiſed as antiquated furniture. And with reſpect to men of taſte, their number is ſo ſmall as not to afford encouragement even for the moſt frugal edition. Thus bookſellers, by graſping too much, would put an end to their trade altogether; and men of genius would not write, when no price could be afforded for their works. At the ſame time, our preſent authors and bookſellers would not be much benefited by ſuch a monopoly. Not many books have ſo long a run as fourteen years; and the ſucceſs of a book on the firſt publication, is ſo uncertain, that a bookſeller will give little more for a perpetuity, than for the temporary privilege of the ſtatute. This was foreſeen by the legiſlature; and the privilege was wiſely confined to fourteen years, equally beneficial to the public and to authors.

terials,

terials, is, by a ſtatute of Charles II. declared a public nuiſance. What groſs ignorance! Is it not evident, that to feed cattle, is more profitable than to breed them? The chief promoter of that notable ſtatute, was Sir John Knight, infamous for an inſolent ſpeech in King William's reign againſt naturalizing foreign Proteſtants, and propoſing to kick out of the kingdom thoſe already ſettled. Experience hath proved the benefit of importing lean cattle into England; witneſs the vaſt quantities imported yearly from Scotland. Diamonds, pearls, and jewels of every kind, paid formerly upon importation a duty of ten *per cent. ad valorem*; which by act 6° George II. cap. 7. was taken off, upon the following preamble: "That London is now become a great mart for dia-" monds and other precious ſtones, from whence moſt foreign " countries are ſupplied; that great numbers of rough diamonds " are ſent here to be cut and poliſhed; and that a free importa-" tion would encreaſe the trade."

Sorry am I to obſerve, that ſeveral of our duties on importation, are far from being conformable to the foregoing rule; many raw materials neceſſary for our manufactures being loaded with a duty on importation, and ſome with a heavy duty. Barilla, for example, is a raw material uſed in the glaſs-manufacture: the exportation from Spain is loaded with a very high duty: and to raiſe the price ſtill higher, we add another duty on importation; without having the pretext of encouraging a raw material of our own growth, for barilla grows not in this iſland. Hair is a raw material employ'd in ſeveral manufactures; and yet every kind of it, human hair, horſe hair, goat's hair, &c. pays a duty on importation; which conſequently raiſes the price of our own hair, as well as of what is imported. Nor has this duty, more than the former, the pretext of being an encouragement to our own product; for ſurely there will not on that account be reared one child more, or foal, or kid. The ſame objection lies againſt the duty

ty on foreign kelp, which is very high. Rancid oil of olives, fit for ſoap and woollen manufactures, pays upon importation a high duty: were it free of duty, we ſhould be able to ſerve ourſelves with Caſtile ſoap of home manufacture; and likewiſe our colonies, which are partly ſupplied by the French. Each of the following raw materials ought in ſound policy to be free of duty on importation; and yet they are loaded with a duty, ſome with a high duty; pot-aſhes, elephant's teeth, raw ſilk from the Eaſt Indies, lamp-black, briſtles dreſſed or undreſſed, horns of beeves. Undreſſed ſkins, tho' a rude material, pay a duty on importation; and French kid-ſkins are honoured above others with a high duty: to reject a great benefit to ourſelves rather than afford a ſmall benefit to a rival nation, ſavours more of peeviſhneſs than of prudence.

For encouraging our colonies, coffee is permitted to be imported from the plantations free of duty, while other coffee pays ſix pence *per* pound. The heavy duty on whalebone and whale-oil imported, which was laid on for encouraging our own whale-fiſhing, is taken off with reſpect to the importation from our American colonies (*a*). This may put an end to our own whale-fiſhery: but it will enable the Americans to cope with the Dutch; and who knows whether they may not at laſt prevail? For encouraging the culture of hemp and flax in America, there is a bounty given upon what is imported into Britain. One would imagine, that our legiſlature intended to enable the colonies to rival us in a ſtaple manufacture, contrary to the fundamental principle of colonization. But we did not ſee ſo far: we only foreſaw a benefit to Britain, in being ſupplied with hemp and flax from our colonies, rather than from Ruſſia and the Low Countries. But even abſtracting from rivalſhip, was it not obvious, that a bounty for

(*a*) 4° George III. cap. 29.

encouraging

encouraging the culture of hemp and flax at home, would be more ſucceſsful, than for encouraging the culture in America, where the price of labour is exceſſively high, not to talk of the freight *?

The encouragement given to foreign linen-yarn, by taking off the duty on importation, is a meaſure that greatly concerns Britain; and how far ſalutary, ſhall be ſtrictly examined, after ſtating ſome preliminary obſervations. The firſt is, That as the price of our own commodities can never riſe above that of foreign commodities ſold here, the price of imported linen muſt regulate the price of home-made linen. The next is, That tho' the duty on importation is paid by the merchant at the firſt inſtance, he relieves himſelf of it, by raiſing the price on the purchaſer; which of courſe raiſes the price of the ſame ſort of goods made at home;

* Between the mother-country and her colonies the following rule ought to be ſacred, That with reſpect to commodities wanted, each of them ſhould prefer the other before all other nations. Britain ſhould take from her colonies whatever they can furniſh for her uſe; and they ſhould take from Britain whatever ſhe can furniſh for their uſe. In a word, every thing regarding commerce ought to be reciprocal, and equal between them. To bar a colony from acceſs to the fountain-head for commodities that cannot be furniſhed by the mother-country but at ſecond-hand, is oppreſſion: it is ſo far degrading the coloniſts from being free ſubjects to be ſlaves. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchaſing tea or porcelane at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than in London? No connection between two nations can be ſo intimate, as to make ſuch reſtraint an act of juſtice. Our legiſlature however have acted like a ſtepmother to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They muſt land firſt in Britain all their commodities, even what are not intended to be ſold there; and they muſt take from Britain, not only its own product, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjuſt but impolitic; as by it the intereſt of the colonies in general is ſacrificed to that of a few London merchants. Our legiſlature have at laſt ſo far opened their eyes, as to give a partial relief. Some articles are permitted to be carried directly to the place of deſtination, without being firſt entered in Britain, wheat for example, rice, &c.

and

and accordingly a duty on importation is in effect a bounty to our own manufacturers. A third obſervation is, That the price of our linen-cloth ought to be divided between the ſpinner and the weaver, in ſuch proportion as to afford bread to both. If the yarn be too high, the weaver is undone; and if too low, the ſpinner is undone. This was not attended to, when, for encouraging our ſpinners, a duty of three pence was laid on every pound of imported linen-yarn; which had the effect to raiſe the price of our own yarn beyond what the weaver could afford. This myſtery being unvailed, the duty was firſt lowered to two pence, and then to a penny: our ſpinners had tolerable bread, and our weavers were not oppreſſed with paying too high a price for yarn.

Some patriotic gentlemen, who had more zeal than knowledge, finding the linen-manufacture benefited by the ſeveral reductions of the duty, raſhly concluded, that it would be ſtill more benefited by a total abolition of the duty. The penny accordingly was taken off (*a*), and linen-yarn was permitted to be imported duty-free; which, if matters had continued as at the date of the act, would have left us not a ſingle ſpinner by profeſſion; becauſe it would have reduced the price of our yarn below what could afford bread to the ſpinner. Lucky it has been for our linen-manufacture, that the German war, which ſoon followed, ſuſpended all their manufactures, and ſpinning in particular; which proved a favourable opportunity for diffuſing widely the art of ſpinning, and for making our ſpinners more and more dexterous. And yet, now that the war is at an end, it is far from being certain, that our yarn can be afforded as cheap as what is imported from Sileſia. We have good authority for aſſerting, that the Engliſh ſpinners have ſuffered by that ſtatute: from the books of many pariſhes it appears, that ſoon after the ſtatute, a number of wo-

(*a*) 29° George II.

men, who had lived by ſpinning, became a burden upon the pariſh. One thing is evident, that as ſpinning is the occupation of females who cannot otherwiſe be ſo uſefully employ'd, and as more hands are required for ſpinning than for weaving, the former is the more valuable branch of the manufacture. It ought then to be the peculiar concern of our legiſlature, not to deſtroy that branch by impolitic regulations. And yet very little attention ſeems to have been given to the public intereſt, in paſſing the act under conſideration. Why was it not enquired into, whether the intended reduction of the price of yarn, would leave bread to the Britiſh ſpinner? The reſult of that enquiry would have been fatal to the intended act; for it would have been clearly ſeen, that the Scotch ſpinner could not make bread by her work, far leſs the Engliſh. Other particulars ought alſo to have been ſuggeſted to the legiſlature, that flax-ſpinning is of all occupations the fitteſt for women of a certain claſs, confined within ſmall houſes; that a flax-wheel requires leſs ſpace than a wheel for wool; and that the toughneſs of Britiſh flax makes it excel for ſail-cloth, dowlas, ticking, and ſheeting. The Britiſh ſpinner might, in a Britiſh ſtatute, have expected the caſt of the ſcale, had it been but a halfpenny *per* pound on importation.

At the ſame time, why ſhould there be any inconſiſtency in our commercial regulations, when the wiſeſt heads of the nation are employ'd about them? Flax rough or undreſſed, being a rude material, is imported duty-free, but dreſſed flax pays a high duty; both of them calculated for encouraging our own manufacturers. Behold now a flat inconſiſtency: tho' dreſſed flax, for the reaſon given, pays a high duty; yet when by additional labour it is converted into yarn, it pays no duty. How abſurd is this! Further, foreign yarn is not only made welcome duty-free, but even receives a bounty when converted into linen, and exported to our plantations. Have we no reaſon to be afraid, that ſuch indulgence

gence to foreign yarn will deprive us of foreign rough flax? The difference of bulk and freight will determine the Germans to ſend us nothing but their yarn, and equally determine our importers to commiſſion that commodity only.

Goods imported, if ſubjected to a duty, are generally of the beſt kind; becauſe the duty bears a leſs proportion to ſuch than to meaner ſorts. The beſt French wines are imported into Britain, where the duty is higher than in any other country. For that reaſon, the beſt linen-yarn was imported while the duty ſubſiſted; but now the German yarn is ſorted into different kinds, of which the worſt is reſerved for the Engliſh market.

Regulations concerning the exportation of commodities formerly imported, come next in order. And for encouraging ſuch exportation, one method practiſed with ſucceſs, is, to reſtore to the merchant the whole or part of the duty paid at importation; which is termed a *drawback*. This in particular is done with reſpect to tobacco; which by that means can be afforded to foreigners at two pence halfpenny *per* pound, when the price at home is eight pence halfpenny. But by an omiſſion in the act of parliament, a drawback is only given for raw tobacco; which bars the exportation of ſnuff or manufactured tobacco, as foreigners can underſell us five-and-thirty *per cent*. Tobacco being an article of luxury, it was well judged in our legiſlature to lay a heavier duty on what is conſumed at home, than on what is exported. Upon the ſame principle, the duty that is paid on the importation of coffee and cocoa from our American plantations, is wholly drawn back when exported (*a*). But as China earthen ware is not intitled to any encouragement from us, and as it is an article of luxury, it gets no drawback, even when exported to America (7° George III. cap. 46.). The exporter of rice from Britain, firſt imported from

(*a*) 7° George III. cap. 46.

America, is intitled to draw back but half the duty paid on importation. Rice imported duty-free might rival our wheat-crop. But the whole duty ought to be drawn back on exportation: it ought to be afforded to our neighbours at the loweſt rate, partly to rival their wheat-crop, and partly to encourage our rice-colonies.

Tobacco is an article of luxury; and it is well ordered, that it ſhould come dearer to us than to foreigners. But every wiſe adminiſtration will take the oppoſite ſide with reſpect to articles that concern our manufactures. Quickſilver pays upon importation a duty of about 8 d. *per* pound; 7 d. of which is drawn back upon exportation. The intention of the drawback was to encourage the commerce of quickſilver; without adverting, that to afford quickſilver to foreign manufacturers cheaper than to our own, is a groſs blunder in commercial politics. Again, when quickſilver is manufactured into vermilion or ſublimate, no drawback is allowed; which effectually bars their exportation: we ought to be aſhamed of ſuch an abſurdity. In the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, dyers were prohibited to uſe logwood, which was ordered to be openly burnt. But the Engliſh dyers having acquired the art of fixing colours made of logwood, it was permitted to be imported (*a*), every ton paying on importation L. 5; L. 4 of which was to be drawn back upon exportation. That law, made in the days of ignorance, was intended to encourage the commerce of logwood; and had that effect: but the blunder of diſcouraging our own manufactures, by furniſhing logwood cheaper to our rivals, was overlooked. Both articles were put upon a better footing (*b*), giving a greater encouragement to the commerce of logwood, by allowing it to be imported duty-free; and

(*a*) Act 13. & 14. Charles II. cap. 11. § 26. 27.

(*b*) Act 8° George I. c. 14.

by

by giving an advantage to our own manufactures, by laying a duty of 40 s. upon every hundred weight exported. Laſtly, Still more to encourage the commerce of logwood (*a*), the duty upon exportation is diſcontinued. It will have the effect propoſed: but will not that benefit be more than balanced by the encouragement it gives to foreign manufactures? By the late peace, we have obtained the monopoly of gum-ſenega; and proper meaſures have been taken for turning it to the beſt account: the exportation from Africa is confined to Great Britain; and the duty on importation is only ſix pence *per* hundred weight: but the duty on exportation from Britain is thirty ſhillings *per* hundred weight (*b*); which, with freight, commiſſion, and inſurance, makes it come dear to foreigners. Formerly, every beaver's ſkin paid upon importation ſeven pence of duty; and the exporter received a drawback of four pence; as if it had been the purpoſe of the legiſlature, to make our own people pay more for that uſeful commodity than foreigners. Upon obtaining a monopoly of beaver-ſkins by the late peace, that abſurd regulation was altered: a penny *per* ſkin of duty is laid on importation, and ſeven pence on exportation (*c*). By that means beaver-ſkins are cheaper here than in any other country of Europe. A ſimilar regulation is eſtabliſhed with reſpect to gum-arabic. A hundred weight pays on importation ſix pence, and on exportation L. 1, 10 s. (*d*). As the foregoing articles are uſed in various manufactures, their cheapneſs in Britain, by means of theſe regulations, will probably balance the high price of labour, ſo as to keep open to us the foreign market.

(*a*) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47.

(*b*) 5° George III. cap. 37.

(*c*) 4° George III. cap. 9.

(*d*) 5° George III. cap. 37.

James

James I. of England iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting gold and ſilver, whether in coin or plate, goldſmith's work, or bullion, to be exported. Not to mention the unconſtitutional ſtep of an Engliſh King uſurping the legiſlative power, it was a glaring abſurdity to prohibit manufactured work from being exported. Gold and ſilver, coined or uncoined, are to this day prohibited to be exported from France; a moſt abſurd prohibition, for a merchant will never willingly export gold and ſilver; but if the balance be againſt him, the exportation is unavoidable. The only effect of the prohibition is, to ſwell the merchant's debt; for he muſt have recourſe to a ſmuggler, who muſt be tempted with a high bribe to undertake the exportation.

A French author remarks, than in no country are commercial regulations better contrived than in Britain; and inſtances the following particulars. 1ſt, Foreign commodities, ſuch as may rival their own, are prohibited, or burdened with duties. 2d, Their manufactures are encouraged by a free exportation. 3d, Raw materials which cannot be produced at home, cochineal, for example, indigo, &c. are imported free of duty. 4th, Raw materials of their own growth, ſuch as wool, fuller's earth, &c. are prohibited to be exported. 5th, Every commodity has a free courſe through the kingdom, without duty. And laſtly, Duties paid on importation, are repaid on exportation. This remark is for the moſt part well founded: and yet the facts above ſet forth will not permit us to ſay, that the Engliſh commercial laws have as yet arrived at perfection.

HAVING thus gone through the ſeveral articles that enter into the preſent ſketch, I ſhall cloſe with ſome general reflections. The management of the finances is a moſt important branch of government; and no leſs delicate than important. Taxes may be ſo contrived as to promote in a high degree the proſperity of a ſtate; and without much contrivance, they may do much miſchief.

chief. The latter, by rendering the ſovereign odious, and the people miſerable, effectually eradicate patriotiſm: no other cauſe is more fruitful of rebellion; and no other cauſe reduces a country to be a more eaſy prey to an invader. To that cauſe were the Mahometans chiefly indebted for their conqueſt of the Greek empire. The people were glad to change their maſter; becauſe, inſtead of multiplied, intricate, and vexatious duties, they found themſelves ſubjected to a ſimple tribute, eaſily collected, and eaſily paid. Had the art of oppreſſive taxes been known to the Romans, when they put in practice againſt the Carthaginians the utmoſt perfidy and cruelty for making them abandon their city, they probably would have choſen the ſofter method of impoſing high duties on exportation and importation, which would have gratified their avarice, and at the ſame time have emaciated Carthage, and reduced it to beggary.

But ſuch taxes require not the aid of external force to ſubdue a nation: they alone will reduce it to the moſt contemptible weakneſs. From the union of the different Spaniſh kingdoms under one monarch, there was reaſon to expect an exertion of ſpirit, ſimilar to that of the Romans when peace was reſtored under Auguſtus. Spain was at that period the moſt potent kingdom in Europe, or perhaps in the world; and yet, inſtead of flouriſhing in that advantageous condition, it was by noxious taxes brought down to poverty and depopulation. The political hiſtory of that kingdom with reſpect to its finances, ought to be kept in perpetual remembrance, that kings, and their miniſters, may ſhun the deſtructive rock upon which Spain hath been wrecked. The cortes of Spain had once as extenſive powers as ever were enjoy'd by an Engliſh parliament; but at the time of the union their power being ſunk to a ſhadow, the King and his miniſters governed without much control. Britain cannot be too thankful to Providence for her parliament. From the hiſtory of every modern European nation,

tion, an inſtructive leſſon may be gathered, that the three eſtates, or a parliament in our language, are the only proper check againſt the ignorance and rapacity of miniſters. The fertility of the Spaniſh ſoil is well known. Notwithſtanding frequent droughts to which it is liable, it would produce greatly with diligent culture; and in fact during the time of the Roman domination, produced corn ſufficient for its numerous inhabitants, and a great ſurplus, which was annually exported to Italy. During the domination of the Moors, Arabian authors agree, that Spain was extremely populous. An author of that nation, who wrote in the tenth century, reports, that in his time there were in Spain 80 capital cities, 300 of the ſecond and third orders, beſide villages ſo frequent, that one could not walk a mile without meeting one or more of them. In Cordova alone, the capital of the Mooriſh empire, he reckons 200,000 houſes *, 600 moſques, and 900 public baths. In the eleventh century, another author mentions no fewer that 12,000 villages in the plain of Seville. Agriculture at that period muſt have been in the utmoſt perfection, when Spain could feed ſuch multitudes. What was the extent of their internal commerce, is not recorded; but all authors agree, that their foreign commerce was immenſe. Beſide many articles of ſmaller value, they exported raw ſilk, oil, ſugar, a ſort of cochineal, quickſilver, iron wrought and unwrought, manufactures of ſilk, of wool, &c. The annual revenue of Abdoulrahman III. one of the Spaniſh califs, was in money 12,045,000 dinares, above five millions Sterling, beſide large quantities of corn, wine, oil, and other fruits. That prince's revenue muſt indeed have been immenſe to ſupply the ſums expended by him. Beſide the annual charges of government, fleets, and armies, he laid out great ſums on his pri-

* Dwelling-houſes at that time were not ſo large, nor ſo expenſive, as they came to be in later times.

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vate pleaſures. Tho' engaged continually in war, he had money to ſpare for building a new town three miles from Cordova, named *Zehra*, after his favourite miſtreſs. In that town he erected a magnificent palace, ſufficiently capacious for his whole ſeraglio of 6300 perſons. There were in it 1400 columns of African and Spaniſh marble, 19 of Italian marble, and 140 of the fineſt kind, a preſent from the Greek Emperor. In the middle of the great ſaloon, were many images of birds and beaſts in pure gold adorned with precious ſtones, pouring water into a large marble baſon. That prince muſt have had immenſe ſtables for horſes, when he entertained for his conſtant guard no fewer than 12,000 horſemen, having ſabres and belts enriched with gold. Upon the city of Zehra alone, including the palace and gardens, were expended annually 300,000 dinares, which make above L. 100,000 Sterling; and it required twenty-five years to complete theſe works *.

The great fertility of the ſoil, the induſtry of the Moors, and their advantageous ſituation for trade, carried on the proſperity of Spain down to the time that they were ſubdued by Ferdinand

* A preſent made to Abdoulrahman by Abdoulmelik, when choſen prime vizier, is a ſpecimen of the riches of Spain in that period. 1ſt, 408 pounds of virgin gold. 2d, The value of 420,000 ſequins in ſilver ingots. 3d, 400 pounds of the wood of aloes, one piece of which weigh'd 180 pounds. 4th, 500 ounces of ambergreaſe, of which there was one piece that weigh'd 100 ounces. 5th, 300 ounces of the fineſt camphire. 6th, 300 pieces of gold-ſtuff, ſuch as were prohibited to be worn but by the Caliph himſelf. 7th, A quantity of fine fur. 8th, Horſe-furniture of gold and ſilk, Bagdad fabric, for 48 horſes. 9th, 4000 pounds of raw ſilk. 10th, 30 pieces Perſian tapeſtry of ſurpriſing beauty. 11th, Complete armour for 800 war-horſes. 12th, 1000 bucklers, and 100,000 arrows. 13th, Fifteen Arabian horſes, with moſt ſumptuous furniture; and a hundred other Arabian horſes for the King's attendants. 14th, Twenty mules, with ſuitable furniture. 15th, Forty young men, and twenty young women, complete beauties, all of them dreſs'd in ſuperb habits.

of Arragon. Of this we have undoubted evidence, from the condition of Spain in the days of Charles V. and of his ſon Philip, being eſteemed at that period the richeſt nation in the univerſe. We have the authority of Uſtariz, that the town of Seville, in the period mentioned, contained 60,000 ſilk looms. During the ſixteenth century, the woollen cloth of Segovia was eſteemed the fineſt in Europe; and that of Catalonia long maintained its preference in the Levant, in Italy, and in the adjacent iſlands. In a memorial addreſſed to the ſecond Philip, Louis Valle de la Cerda reports, that in the fair of Medina he had negotiated bills of exchange to the extent of one hundred and fifty-five millions of crowns; and in Spain at that time there were ſeveral other fairs, no leſs frequented.

The expulſion of the Moors, deprived Spain of ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand frugal and induſtrious inhabitants; a wound that touch'd its vitals, but not mortal: tender care, with proper remedies, would have reſtored Spain to its former vigour. But unhappily for that kingdom, its political phyſicians were not ſkilled in the method of cure: inſtead of applying healing medicines, they enflamed the diſeaſe, and rendered it incurable. The miniſtry, who, inſtigated by the clergy, had prevailed on the King to baniſh the Moors, dreading loſs of favour if they ſhould ſuffer the King's revenues to ſink, were forc'd, in ſelf-defence, to double the taxes upon the remaining inhabitants. And what could be expected from that fatal meaſure, but utter ruin; when the poor Chriſtians, who were too much of gentlemen to be induſtrious, had ſcarce been able to crawl under the load of former taxes?

But a matter that affords a leſſon ſo inſtructive, merits a more particular detail. So late as the beginning of the laſt century, there were extenſive plantations of ſugar in the kingdom of Granada, which upon the occaſion mentioned were deeply taxed, ſo as that with the former taxes ſugar pay'd 36 *per cent.* This branch of

of huſbandry, which could not fail to languiſh under ſuch oppreſſion, was in a deep conſumption when the firſt American ſugars were imported into Europe, and was totally extinguiſhed by the lower price of theſe ſugars. Spain once enjoy'd a moſt extenſive commerce of ſpirits manufactured at home, perhaps more extenſive than France does at preſent. But two cauſes concurred to ruin that manufacture; firſt, oppreſſive taxes; and next, a prohibition to the manufacturer, of vending his ſpirits to any but to the farmers of the revenue; a ſlavery paſt all endurance. Spaniſh ſalt is ſuperior in quality to that of Portugal, and ſtill more to that of France: when refined in Holland, it produces 10 *per cent.* more than the former, and 20 *per cent.* more than the latter; and the making of ſalt, requires in Spain leſs labour than in Portugal or in France. Thus Spaniſh ſalt may be afforded the cheapeſt, as requiring leſs labour; and yet may draw the higheſt price, as ſuperior in quality: notwithſtanding which ſhining advantages, ſcarce any ſalt is exported from Spain; and no wonder, for an exorbitant duty makes it come dearer to the purchaſer than any other ſalt. A more moderate duty would bring more profit to the government; beſide eaſing the labouring poor, and employing them in the manufacture. The ſuperior quality of Spaniſh raw ſilk, makes it in great requeſt; but as the duty upon it exceeds 60 *per cent.* it can find no vent in a foreign market: nor is there almoſt any demand for it at home, as its high price has reduced the ſilk-manufacture in Spain to the loweſt ebb. But the greateſt oppreſſion of all, as it affects every ſort of manufacture, is the famous tax known by the name of *alcavala*, upon every thing bought and ſold, which was laid on in the fifteenth century by a cortes or parliament, limited expreſsly to eight years, and yet kept up, contrary to law, merely by the King's authority. This monſtrous tax, originally 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, was by the two Philips, III. and IV. augmented to 14 *per cent.*; ſufficient of itſelf to de-

ſtroy all internal commerce, by the encouragement it gives to ſmuggling *. The difficulty of recovering payment of ſuch oppreſſive taxes, heightened the brutality of the farmers; which haſtened the downfall of the manufactures: poverty and diſtreſs baniſhed ſuch workmen as could find bread elſewhere; and reduc'd the reſt to beggary. The poor huſbandmen ſunk under the weight of taxes: and as if this had not been ſufficient to ruin agriculture totally, the Spaniſh miniſtry ſuperadded an abſolute prohibition againſt exporting corn. The moſt amazing article of all is, that it has been the practice, for more than three centuries, to ſet a price on corn; which ruins the farmer when the price is low, and yet refuſes him the relief of a high price. That agriculture in Spain ſhould be in a deep conſumption, is far from being a wonder: it is rather a wonder that it has not long ago died of that diſeaſe. Formerly there was plenty of corn for twenty millions of inhabitants, with a ſurplus for the great city of Rome; and yet at preſent, and for very many years back, there has not been corn for ſeven millions, its preſent inhabitants. Their only reſource for procuring even the neceſſaries of life, were the treaſures of the new world, which could not laſt for ever; and Spain became ſo miſerably poor, that Philip IV. was neceſſitated to give a currency

* The following paſſage is from Uſtariz, ch. 96. "After mature conſidera-
"tion of the duties impoſed upon commodities, I have not diſcovered in France,
"England, or Holland, any duty laid upon the home-ſale of their own manufac-
"tures, whether the firſt or any ſubſequent ſale. As Spain alone groans under the
"burden of 14 *per cent.* impoſed not only on the firſt ſale of every parcel, but
"on each ſale, I am jealous that this ſtrange tax is the chief cauſe of the ruin of
"our manufactures." As to the ruinous conſequences of this tax, ſee Bernardo de Ulloa upon the manufactures and commerce of Spain, Part 1. ch. 3. ch. 13. And yet ſo blind was Philip II. of Spain, as to impoſe the alcavala upon the Netherlands, a country flouriſhing in commerce both internal and external. It muſt have given a violent ſhock to their manufactures.

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to his copper coin, almoſt equal to that of ſilver. Thus in Spain, the downfall of huſbandry, arts, and commerce, was not occaſioned by expulſion of the Moors, and far leſs by diſcovery of a new world *, of which the gold and ſilver were favourable to huſbandry at leaſt; but by exorbitant taxes, a voracious monſter, which, after ſwallowing up the whole riches of the kingdom, has left nothing for itſelf to feed on. The following picture is drawn by a writer of that nation, who may be depended on for veracity as well as knowledge (*a*). "Poverty and diſtreſs diſpeople a "country, by baniſhing all thoughts of marriage. They even "deſtroy ſucking children; for what nouriſhment can a wo- "man afford to her infant, who herſelf is reduced to bread and "water, and is overwhelmed with labour and deſpair? A greater "proportion accordingly die here in infancy, than where the la- "bouring poor are more at eaſe; and of thoſe who eſcape by "ſtrength of conſtitution, the ſcarcity of cloathing and of nou- "riſhment makes them commonly ſhort-lived."

So blind however are the Spaniards in the adminiſtration of their finances, that the preſent miniſtry are following out the ſame meaſures in America, that have brought their native country to the brink of ruin. Cochineal, cocoa, ſugar, &c. imported

* Uſtariz, in his Theory and practice of commerce, proves from evident facts, that the depopulation of Spain is not occaſioned by the Weſt Indies. From Caſtile few go to America, and yet Caſtile is the worſt peopled country in Spain. The northern provinces, Gallicia, Aſturia, Biſcay, &c. ſend more people to Mexico and Peru than all the other provinces; and yet of all are the moſt populous. He aſcribes the depopulation of Spain to the ruin of the manufactures by oppreſſive taxes; and aſſerts, that the Weſt Indies tend rather to people Spain: many return home laden with riches; and of thoſe who do not return, many remit money to their relations, which enables them to marry, and to rear children.

(*a*) Don Gieronimo de Uſtariz.

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into Spain duty-free, would be a vaſt fund of commerce with other nations: but a heavy duty on importation is an abſolute bar to that commerce, by forcing the other European nations to provide themſelves elſewhere. Spaniſh oil exported to America would be a great article of commerce, were it not barred by a heavy duty on exportation, equal almoſt to a prohibition: and the Spaniſh Americans, for want of oil, are reduced to uſe fat and butter, very improper for a hot climate. The prohibition of planting vines in Mexico, and the exceſſive duty on the importation of Spaniſh wines into that country, have introduced a ſpirit drawn from the ſugar-cane, which, being more deſtructive than a peſtilence, is prohibited under ſevere penalties. The prohibition however has no effect, but to give the governors of the provinces a monopoly of thoſe ſpirits, which, under their protection, are ſold publicly; a commerce no leſs ſhameful than deſtructive.

But this ſubject ſeems to be inexhauſtible. The ſilver and gold mines in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies are, by improper taxes, rendered leſs profitable, both to the King and to the proprietors, than they ought to be. The King's ſhare is the fifth part of the ſilver, and the tenth part of the gold, that the mines produce. There is beſide a duty of eighty piaſtres, upon every quintal of mercury employ'd in theſe mines. Theſe heavy exactions, have occaſioned an abandon of all mines but what are of the richeſt ſort. The inhabitants pay 3,3 *per cent.* on the goods imported to them from Spain, and they are ſubjected beſide to the alcavala, which is 14 *per cent.* for every thing bought and ſold within the country. The moſt provoking tax of all is what is termed *la cruciade*, being a ſum paid for indulgence to eat eggs, butter, and cheeſe, during Lent, which is yielded by the Pope to the King of Spain. The government, it is true, obliges no perſon to take out ſuch an indulgence: but the prieſts refuſe every religious conſolation to thoſe who do not purchaſe; and there is not perhaps a ſingle perſon in Spaniſh

Spaniſh America who is bold enough to ſtand out againſt ſuch oppreſſion.

There is recorded in hiſtory, another example of deſtructive taxes ſimilar to that now mentioned. Auguſtus, on his conqueſt of Egypt, having brought to Rome the treaſure of its kings, gold and ſilver overflowed in Italy; the bulk of which found its way to Conſtantinople, when it became the ſeat of empire. By theſe means, Italy was ſadly impoveriſhed: the whole ground had been covered with gardens and villas, now deſerted; and there was neither corn nor manufactures to exchange for money. Gold and ſilver became now as rare in Italy as they had been of old; and yet the ſame taxes that had been paid with eaſe during plenty of money, were rigidly exacted, which ruined all.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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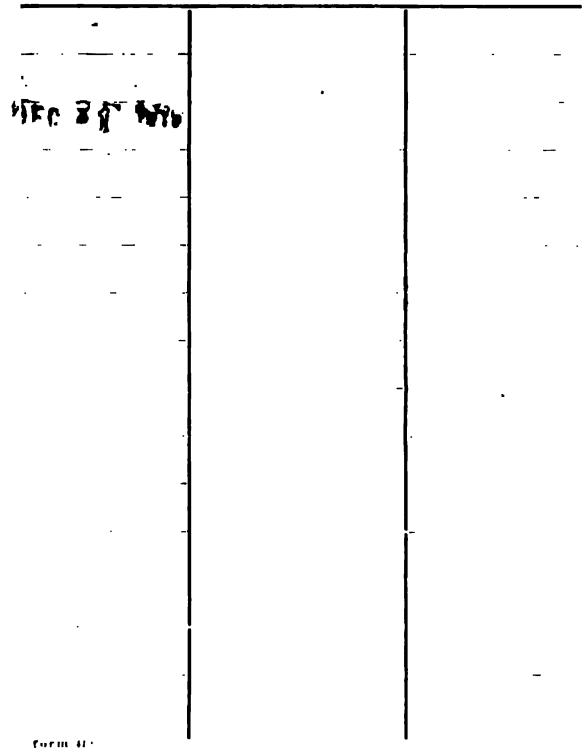
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